

Library

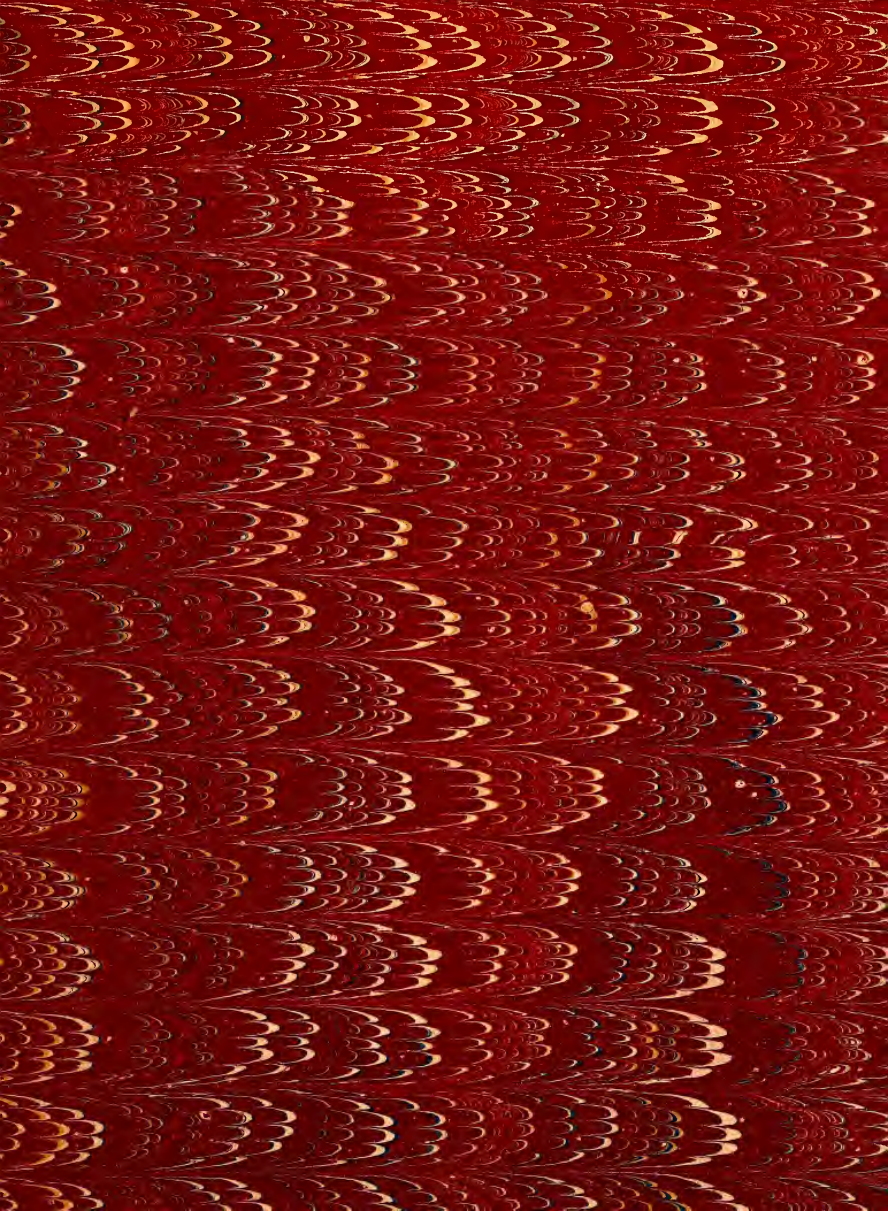
University of Pittsburgh

Darlington Memorial Library

Do

Class F 186

Book P 95
v. 6





zitrusse
monate Mathie

THE
Publications of the Prince Society.

Established May 25th, 1858.

THE ANDROS TRACTS.

VOLUME SECOND.



Boston:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,
By T. R. MARVIN & SON.
1869.

Committee of Publication :
WILLIAM H. WHITMORE.

TWENTY COPIES, LARGE PAPER.
ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY COPIES, SMALL PAPER.
TWENTY COPIES, UNNUMBERED, FOR THE EDITOR.
TWENTY COPIES, UNNUMBERED, FOR THE TREASURER.

No.

THE ANDROS TRACTS:

BEING A COLLECTION OF

PAMPHLETS AND OFFICIAL PAPERS,

ISSUED DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE OVERTHROW
OF THE ANDROS GOVERNMENT AND THE ESTAB-
LISHMENT OF THE SECOND CHARTER OF
MASSACHUSETTS.

Reprinted from the Original Editions and Manuscripts.

WITH NOTES UPON THE GRANT OF THE SECOND CHARTER.
BY W. H. WHITMORE.

Boston:
PUBLISHED BY THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1869.

1855

Jar
E186
P95
v.6



L. M.
10/5/54



TABLE OF CONTENTS.

[Each pamphlet or document is numbered separately ; but at the foot will be found the continous pagination.]

1. Increase Mather,	ix
2. Introduction,	xxix
3. Narrative of the Miferies of New-England, (by Increase Mather,) with the Addreffes of the Clergy of London, and of the Non-conformift Minifters to the Prince of Orange, 1688,	I-14
4. The Prefent State of the New-Englilh Affairs, in letters from Increase Mather, (from the original broad-fide,) 1689,	15-18
5. A Vindication of New-England, (by Mather,) containing the Firft Petition of the Bofton Epifcopalians, 1690,	19-78
6. Petition of the Inhabitants of Charlestown, (reprinted from Frothingham's Hiftory,) 1689,	79-82
7. The People's Right to Election, by Gerfhom Bulkeley, 1689,	83-110
8. New-England Vindicated, (by Increase Mather,) in reply to certain "Confiderations," 1689,	III-124
9. Anfwer of the Maffachufetts Agents to Randolph, (from the MSS. in Mafs. Archives,) 1690,	125-134
10. A Short Difcourfe againft reftoring the Charters, in Reply to "New-England Vindicated," (No. 8,) 1689,	135-148
11. A Brief Relation of the State of New-England, (by Mather,) containing a Letter from Abraham Kick, and a tranflation of Mather's "De Succelfu Evangelii apud Indos," 1689,	149-170

12. Report of the Proceedings against Andros, before the Privy Council, (from the MS. at the State Paper Office, London), 1690,	171-188
13. An Account of the Revolution in New-England, by A. B., 1689,	189-202
14. New-England's Faction Discovered, by C. D., (probably Edward Randolph,) 1690,	203-222
15. Reasons for the Confirmation of the Charters, (by Increase Mather,) 1690,	223-230
16. The Humble Address of the Publicans of New-England, containing the Second Petition of Boston Episcopalians, 1691,	231-270
17. Account of the Agents of New-England, 1691, With an Extract from a Letter from the London ministers,	271-296 297-300
18. I. Mather's Address to the Inhabitants, prefixed to his Ser- mon before the General Court, 1693,	301-311
19. Letter of the London Ministers, 1691,	312
20. I. Mather's Reply to Calef, 1701,	313-323
21. Cotton Mather's Political Fables,	324-332
22. List of Members of the Prince Society,	333-338
23. Index,	339



INCREASE MATHER,
THE AGENT OF MASSACHUSETTS.



INCREASE MATHER,

THE AGENT OF MASSACHUSETTS COLONY
IN ENGLAND FOR THE CONCESSION
OF A CHARTER.



IN the first volume of these Tracts, the central figure was that of Andros, the able and resolute representative of that policy which sought to combine the independent Colonies in one Dominion of New England. The scene of the conflict was cis-Atlantic, and the victory was gained by an uprising of the people in which no individual laid claim to the leadership.

In our second volume we have collected the evidences of the farther strife which was waged on English soil by those who strove successfully to restore to the agglomerated Colonies their former individuality, and in a large measure their former freedom. Here again, one leader, Increase Mather, stands out pre-eminent as the champion of his cause, fighting earnestly and almost unaided against the numerous and obscure enemies of Charter government. Yet important as
this

this episode in his life appears, it is but a portion of the services which he rendered to his native country, and it would therefore be an act of injustice to affix his name to this collection.

We do not intend to trace the early life of Increase Mather, interesting as the task would prove, since the services which he performed as a political agent were so widely diffused from the duties which he fulfilled as a clergyman. It will be sufficient to say of him, that in 1687 he might be regarded as the leader of the clergy of Massachusetts. The son of a prominent minister, well educated, a powerful preacher, he was chosen in 1664, at the age of twenty-five years, pastor of the Second Church in Boston. He not only attended to his clerical duties with fidelity, but he was gradually forced to accept the burden of other public offices. In 1680, he was Moderator of the Reforming Synod convened to decide upon a Confession of Faith. In 1685, he was appointed acting President of Harvard University, and was thus placed at the head of the educational system of the Colony. He had even ventured to take an active part in politics, by advising the inhabitants of Boston at a town-meeting, after the writ of *Quo Warranto* against the Charter had been issued, to stand by their privileges and not to give away what was the inheritance of their fathers.

When therefore the inhabitants of Massachusetts, impelled by a profound discontent with the centralizing government of Andros, sought a bold, honest and able representative to make an effort for the restoration of their beloved Charter,

Increase

Increase Mather was confessedly the person, almost the sole one, for this high and important office. The public desire was accordingly manifested to him, but not until he had consulted the brethren of his church and obtained their approval, did he consent to accept the charge.

Early in April, 1688, Mather sailed for England, unprovided with the formal credentials hitherto conferred by the General Court on its Agents, but still confessedly the representative of the hopes and wants of the greater portion of the citizens of Massachusetts. He bore with him the Addresses of the churches, expressing their thanks for the Declaration of Indulgence recently granted by James II. A more important part of his mission was to lay at the foot of the throne the complaints of the Colonists against the administration of Andros. His departure was hurried and stealthy, since the personal enmity of Randolph had led him to annoy Mather by an unwarranted suit. The Government had full information of the intentions of the envoy, but Andros was apparently too secure in his position to interpose any restrictions.

On the 25th of May, 1688, Mather arrived at London, where the state of public affairs seemed anything but propitious. The closing struggle between the King and his people had already commenced. A week before the arrival of Mather, the seven Bishops had signed the petition requesting the King to dispense with the distribution and reading of that Declaration of Indulgence, for which such loyal thanks had been forwarded from New England. The position

tion of the Agent was thus full of difficulties. On the one hand, the King was still the controller of the fortunes of the Colony, and had perhaps earned its gratitude. On the other, it was patent to Mather that this royal favor had been shown against the wishes of the English people, was pronounced to be unconstitutional, and its acceptance might provoke a sharp retribution at the next turn of affairs. His natural advisers, the English Dissenters, were disquieted and divided upon the subject. Macaulay, in the seventh chapter of his history, has fully described the situation of these steadfast congregations, so recently the object of scorn and cruel persecution, now suddenly elevated to the rank of arbiter between the contending factions, and assiduously courted by both.

For a time a portion of the leading Dissenters were in favor of accepting the Royal favor, and to this opinion Mather at first inclined, influenced perhaps by his friends Penn and Alfop. On the 30th of May, 1688, he waited on the King with the Address of the Congregations of New England and a similar document from the inhabitants of Plymouth Colony. James received these loyal effusions graciously, and promised the petitioners "a Magna Charta for Liberty of Conscience." Two days later Mather was again admitted into the King's closet, and then, in reply to a question, ventured to speak of Andros as an opponent of the Declaration. Being instructed by James to commit to writing the matters wherein the Colony desired relief, he promptly prepared a petition which he presented on the 2nd of July.

The

The month of June had been full of important events. On the tenth, the ill-fated Prince of Wales was born, and the last days of the month had witnessed the triumphant acquittal of the seven Bishops. Amid all these pressing affairs, the King seems to have received the petition courteously, and repeated the promise of his continued favor to New England. Then occurred a strange conversation. To the King, who had but a few months before forced the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford to yield a portion of their wealth and honors to Roman Catholics, Mather now preferred a request for a Charter for Harvard College. It was, he said, hard that the College built by Non-Conformists should be taken from them and put into the hands of Conformists. The King gravely replied, "It is unreasonable and it shall not be."

Up to this time Mather had made no attempts to obtain a renewal of the Charter of the Colony. He desired to check the progress of Episcopacy in Massachusetts, to obtain a favorable decision in regard to the titles of lands here, to which the Crown made great though vague pretensions, and he may have hoped to procure the recall of Andros. These projects were not unreasonable, and the policy of James was for the present favorable to them. The King indeed was apparently disposed to treat the Colonists as his own especial tenants. His position as Proprietor of the Colony of New York before his accession to the throne, had rendered him familiar with American affairs. The opinion was now expressed by the Courtiers that all New England was in like manner held by the Crown, independent of the Kingdom, and was subject to such laws, ordinances, and forms of government

ernment, as the Crown should think fit to establish. Hence the King might well be pleased to waive one form of sovereignty over a people over whom he claimed a supreme authority. He could even afford to encourage one body of heretics to the confusion of another, if he entertained the expectation of eventually setting up the Roman Catholic religion in all the Colonies.

For three months Mather forbore to seek another interview, though he neglected no opportunity to make friends among those who enjoyed the Royal favor. His chief counsellor and associate was Sir Henry Ashurst, a wealthy baronet and member of Parliament, whose family had always been friendly to New England. As a fellow Dissenter he was attached to Mather, and was unwearied in his efforts to serve the Colony. Thus introduced at the outset, Mather soon proved his fitness to conduct negotiations in the unaccustomed atmosphere of a court. In a short time, William Penn, Lord Sunderland, the Earl of Melfort, and the terrible Jeffries, were numbered among his patrons. Even Father Petre was said to be willing to speak a good word for New England.

With the gain of such supporters, the Agent seems to have become more ambitious in his views. He hoped now to regain the old Charter of Massachusetts legally forfeited some years before. This portion of his history is passed over rapidly in his son's narrative, but some facts are known. In August, Mather, acting with Samuel Nowell and Elisha Hutchinson, had petitioned the Lords of the Committee,
asking

asking for a confirmation of titles and the liberty of an Assembly, but Sunderland had plainly refused the latter clause. On the 26th of September, Mather had an interview with the King, and again had received ample promises.

To this period, and to the pen of Mather, may be fairly attributed the pamphlet entitled 'New England Vindicated from the Aspersions of those who said that the Charter was taken away because the Colonists destroyed the manufactures and commerce of England.'

The King had at last been aroused to the dangers which threatened him from the plans of the Prince of Orange and his adherents. He attempted to conciliate his subjects by concessions which might have been effectual earlier. Several important steps were taken in the month of October, notably the restoration of their franchises to the municipal corporations. On the 16th of the month, the Agents for New England had another interview with the King, and were regaled with more promises. For a time it seemed as if these promises would be kept, but on a false report of the downfall of the Prince's expedition, the affair was stopped, and Mather then felt the falseness of his hopes. Perhaps believing that the bad news from Holland was true, the Agents preferred a final request to the Committee, asking only to have the Council in New England remodeled and made more efficient. Thus low had the hopes and expectations of the New England party fallen.

The reaction, however, was fated to be a speedy one.
The

The revolutionary movement in England was not to be stayed by the tardy peace-offerings of the vacillating King, and on the 5th of November, 1688, William landed at Torbay, thenceforward to remain as the chosen ruler of the realm. The succeeding steps of the revolution are well-known; we will cite but two dates. On the 23rd of December, 1688, James fled from London, and on the 13th of February, 1688-9, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England.

Although Mather was not actively concerned in the conspiracy against James, he could not have been ignorant of what was intended. It must be remembered that he was not a stranger in England. After taking his degree as Master of Arts in 1658, at Trinity College, Dublin, he had preached for two years in various parts of England, and had been chaplain to the garrison at Guernsey. At that time he had made many friends, and since his return he had cultivated intimate relations with the English Dissenters. His brother Nathaniel, after the Restoration, was for some time a preacher at Amsterdam. Mather had long been in correspondence with the prominent Dissenters there, especially with Abraham Kick, the friend of Shaftesbury, at whose house that nobleman died. It is inconceivable, therefore, that the Agent of Massachusetts remained in ignorance of the expectations and plans of the patriots.

Still, although the leaders of the English Dissenters could promise a valuable addition to the forces of the Prince of Orange, Mather himself could not contribute a single soldier
to

to the cause. He could only say that the congregations of New England prayed for the success of the Protestant religion, and would joyfully acknowledge William as their rightful King.

On the 18th of December, William arrived at St. James's, and on the 21st, the clergy of London, headed by Compton, their Bishop, presented an Address of congratulation. Among them were mingled some of the Dissenting ministers, to whose presence Compton gracefully referred. On the 2nd of January, 1688-9, the Dissenting ministers to the number of ninety or more presented their Addresses. Although we do not find it stated that Mather was present on either occasion, the fact that he reprinted these two Addresses in his pamphlet entitled "The Miseries of New England," warrants us in supposing that he accompanied his brethren.

On the 9th of January, 1688-9, Mather was favored with an interview with William, being introduced by Philip, Lord Wharton, "renowned as a distributor of Calvinistic tracts and a patron of Calvinistic divines," and father of the notorious Thomas, Earl and Marquis of Wharton. Wharton spoke earnestly in favor of the petition then presented, saying that the New Englanders asked not for money or men, but for their ancient privileges. The Prince replied that he intended to take the best care he could about it, and would so instruct his Secretary, Mr. Jephson. Lord Wharton then carried Mather to the Secretary and said to him, "Cousin, observe this gentleman, and when ever he comes to you, receive him as if I came myself."

Soon

Soon after, the Agent received the assistance of another powerful friend. On February 1st, 1688-9, Abraham Kick wrote from the Hague to the Princess Mary in behalf of the New England Colonists, begging her "to take the first opportunity to help them to the restoration of their ancient Patent, privileges and liberties."

At this time Mather must have made public his account of the "Miseries of New England by reason of an Arbitrary Government erected there under Sir Edmund Andros," since a copy reached Boston in season to be printed before the end of the current year, which closed on the 24th of March, 1689, according to our modern reckoning. Nor did his exertions cease here; being informed by Mr. Jephson that a Circular Letter was to be sent to all the Plantations, confirming the existing governments until farther orders, Mather prevailed on the Secretary to present a remonstrance to the King, and succeeded in stopping the letters for New England. The date of the letters thus intercepted was January 12th, 1688-9.

This prompt action was of the highest importance to the Colonists. New England was thus separated from the other Colonies, and from that time the question of its Charters was an affair to be considered apart. But for Mather's dexterous intervention Andros would have been confirmed, and as he proved afterward acceptable to the English Court, he would probably have remained to complete the consolidation of the Dominion of New England. It was indeed a turning-point in our national history.

Though

Though now successful, the most delicate duties devolved upon Mather. William "had been bred a Presbyterian, and was from rational conviction a Latitudinarian," and there was therefore no reason to fear that during his reign Popery or Prelacy would be forced upon the Congregationalists of New England. But religious liberty was not the only desire of the great body of the Colonists; the restoration of that Charter, which as interpreted by them, granted virtually political independence, was their dearest wish: and that Charter was an offence in the eyes of all parties in England. William, as King of England, was not ready to make concessions that had been condemned and cancelled by his predecessors. An early effort was made by Mather, at an interview granted him on March 14th, 1688-9, to secure the Royal favor, but the King significantly replied to his representations, "I believe they are a good people, but I doubt there have been irregularities in their government."

For the present, the King promised to recall Andros at once to answer for any mal-administration. Various plans were suggested for the provisional government of New England, and on the 26th of February, 1688-9, the King proposed to send two Commissioners to take the place of Andros until a new Charter should be prepared. In the meantime, before the tidings of his Majesty's intentions could reach them, the Colonists had taken the decision into their own hands. On the 18th of April, 1689, the inhabitants of Boston rose against Andros and his coadjutors, and established a provisional government of their own. A Council of Safety was formed, two Conventions were held, and
on

on the 24th of May, Bradstreet and the magistrates chosen in 1686 reassumed the charge of affairs until there should be other instructions sent from England.

The news of this revolution in New England reached London towards the end of June, and on the 4th of July, 1689, Mather had another interview with the King. William then expressed his approbation of the action of the Colonists, and on the 12th of August a Royal letter was addressed to Massachusetts, ratifying the assumption of government there for the time being.

Mather, while thus solicitous of obtaining the consent of the Crown, was not regardless of the great power of Parliament to assist in restoring the Charter. The Convention Parliament, which had called William and Mary to the throne, was still in session, and was strenuous in reforming abuses. By advice of his friends, Mather procured a vote of the House of Commons, "that the taking away of the New England Charters was a grievance, and that they should be restored." A section to this effect was inserted in the Corporation Bill. This step was gained before Parliament took a recess on the 20th of August, 1689.

Besides these appeals to the authorities, Mather evidently sought to enlist the sympathies of the public on his side. We have mentioned two of his publications during the previous nine months. His third essay seems to have been "The Present State of New England," &c., licensed July 30th, 1689, in which he gave an account of what had been
done

done towards establishing a prosperous colony under the old Charter.

Soon after this, probably after the reassembling of Parliament on the 19th of October, a "Reply to the Vindication" was published, which set forth the impropriety of including the New England Charters in the Corporation Bill. This controversy and the hopes of the Agents were terminated by the fate of the main bill. After a severe contest between the Whigs and Tories, the most important clauses of the bill were stricken out, and Parliament was prorogued on the 27th of January, 1689-90. Its formal dissolution took place a few days later.

Thus passed away the year 1689, without any farther change in the affairs of New England. To William, however, the year had been crowded with important events. On the 12th of March, James landed in Ireland, and maintained his sway over a large portion of that island throughout the year. On the 7th of May, war with France was proclaimed. The Highland clans threatened for a moment to restore Scotland to the Stuarts, but that chance had expired with the death of Dundee at the battle of Killiecrankie on the 27th of July. In England the dissensions of the rival parties had required the utmost skill of William to prevent the Revolution from ending in anarchy or a restoration.

Towards the end of this year also, the opponents of the Charter began to make themselves heard. Byfield and another writer had published in England the Colonists' version

version of the overthrow of Andros. The opinions of the inhabitants were not however unanimously in favor of the change. The Episcopalians of Boston sent to England a strong remonstrance, and similar documents were forwarded from the citizens in Charlestown and the settlers in Maine. Many of the magistrates appointed or retained by Andros were sorry at his overthrow, and Gersthom Bulkeley published a pamphlet to show that the new government was illegal. Palmer, one of the ablest of Andros's adherents, prepared in prison a defence of the late government, which found a printer in the distant Colony of Pennsylvania, and was doubtless freely circulated even in Boston.

We may imagine, that by the beginning of the year 1690, all of these documents had reached London, and early in the year, Andros, Dudley, and several others of their party were sent thither by command of the King. Mather and Ashurst, now recognized as Agents by the restored government of New England, received as colleagues Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes. Very little progress however was made in the year 1690 towards fulfilling the wishes of the Colonists. The King was busy with more important matters. His new Parliament met in March; in June he landed in Ireland, then in open hostility to him. On the 1st of July he gained the battle of the Boyne, and five days later he entered Dublin, virtually the victor in the last struggle to be made for James II. Early in September William returned to England, and until the close of the year was chiefly occupied in arranging affairs so that he could leave England for the camp of his allies abroad.

Mather

Mather says that during this year he made "some essays to see if by a writ of error in judgment the case of the Massachusetts Colony might be brought out of Chancery into the King's Bench;" but this was "defeated by a surprizing Providence." By this phrase we are probably not to understand that any special accident overthrew the plan of the Agents, but rather as we should now say, "that it was providentially defeated." There can be little doubt that Mather referred rather to such a division in the councils of the Agents themselves as led to an abandonment of the scheme of a reversal of the judgment. Elisha Cooke was for the old Charter or none at all, and Oakes joined with him. Mather and Ashurst were in favor of making the best terms possible. The disputes between these four had gone so far that Cooke and Oakes would not sign the articles preferred against Andros before the Privy Council, April 17th, 1690, and the prosecution fell through on that ground. Hard words were exchanged, Mather saying that the Earl of Monmouth told him "that they had cut the throat of their country in not signing," and Cooke alleging the advice of Sir John Somers in defense of his conduct. A false rumor was circulated that Cooke and Oakes said 'that they could have saved the old Charter if it had not been for Mather, and that he had betrayed his country.' Evidently the multitude of counsellors had not strengthened the hands of the Agents.

Cooke continued an opponent to the end, and refused to take any steps towards obtaining a new Charter, but the others decided to trust to the kindness of the King. The
Earl

Earl of Monmouth presented their request, and it was referred to the two Lord-Chief-Justices, Holt and Pollexfen, the Attorney-General Treby, and the Solicitor-General Somers, with whom Mather was on friendly terms. He was present at the consultations at which the new Charter was prepared, and the report, having been submitted to the King, was forwarded to the Committee for Trade and Plantations on the 1st of January, 1690-1.

In 1690, the able attack upon Mather entitled "New England's Faction Discovered" was published. After the unconditional release of Andros in April, his friends seem to have been active and eloquent in opposing a re-grant of a Charter to Massachusetts. Palmer issued a reprint of his Defence, wisely expunging the Scriptural arguments which were specially adapted to a New England audience. These two writers not only praised the conduct of Andros, but skillfully displayed the feebleness of his successors in the government.

In reply to them, Mather undoubtedly published his "Vindication of New England," containing the first Petition of the Episcopalians of Boston. Soon after, the Government of Massachusetts put forth their statement entitled "The Revolution in New England Justified and the People there Vindicated," and the accompanying "Narrative of the Proceedings of Andros," by several of his Council. Indeed, the latter pamphlet, dated at Boston, Feb. 4th, 1690-1, refers especially to "such untrue Accounts as that which goes under the name of Capt. John Palmer's, and that scandalous
Pamphlet

Pamphlet entitled 'New England's Faction Discovered,' supposed to be written by an Implacable Enemy of all good men, and a person that for Impudence and Lying has few Equals in the World." By this polite description we learn that Randolph was credited with the authorship.

Lastly, to the pen of some friend of the Agents, we may attribute the pamphlet called "The Humble Address of the Publicans of New England," with its insinuations that the second Petition of the Episcopalians was intended for whichever King might succeed, and that their protestations of loyalty were worthless. The contest between the two parties was maintained by able champions, and the King as usual agreed with neither extreme.

On the 18th of January, 1690-1, King William failed for the Hague, where he remained until the middle of April. As we have seen, the matter of the new Charter was in the hands of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, and Mather was busy in securing the interest of all who might aid him. He published a paper of "Reasons for the Confirmation of Charter Privileges;" he gained the support of such non-conformist ministers as had influence with noblemen; he specially obtained the good offices of Archbishop Tillotson and Bishop Burnet. Finally, on the 9th of April, 1691, he was granted an interview with the Queen, in which her Majesty displayed her usual kindness of heart, and promised to use her influence with the King in behalf of the Colony.

In

In April, William returned to England for a fortnight, and in that time Mather was favored with two interviews with him. At the first, he only presented Addressees from the General Court, and from a number of London merchants. On the 28th of April he had a second audience, when he urged the difference between New England and the other Colonies.

The work of preparing the new Charter was now fairly commenced, and the first question submitted to the King was whether the Colonists should make their own laws and appoint their own officers, or there should be a Governor appointed by the Crown, who should have the power of vetoing laws. The King decided for a Royal Governor, but avoided a direct decision of the question as to the veto power.

On the 1st of May, 1691, William again departed for the Continent, and Mather soon became involved in disputes with the Lords of the Council as to the terms to be employed in the new Charter. The Council evidently intended that the Governor should have the veto power; Mather strenuously endeavored to persuade them to adopt a plan which the Attorney-General Treby had drawn up at his solicitation, and by which the Governor had not this power in any case. The matter was referred to the King, but he was too intent on his campaign in Flanders to reply. Mather protested to the Ministers that he would sooner part with his life than consent to their plan, or to 'anything that might infringe any liberty or privilege that justly belonged to his country.'

Their

Their significant reply was, ' that nobody expected or desired his consent ; that they did not look on the Agents from New England as plenipotentiaries from another sovereign state ; but that if they declared that they would not submit unto the King's pleasure, his Majesty would settle the country as he pleased, and they were to take what would follow.'

The irrepressible Agent, however, continued to protest, and persuaded his friends at Court, and even the Queen, to write to the King, asking either that his plan might be adopted, or that the Charter might be delayed until the King's return to England. Believing that he had thus secured a respite, Mather went to recruit his health " to the Waters," probably to the fashionable resort at Bath ; but he was quickly recalled by the news that the King had on the 10th of August signified his approval of the Council's plan, and had ordered the Charter to be proceeded with forthwith. Nothing remained but acquiescence, and Mather now tried only to obtain all possible concessions in the details. He succeeded in having the territories of Nova Scotia, Maine and Plymouth annexed to Massachusetts, but failed in having New Hampshire also included. He had the form of Oaths amended to suit his views, and obtained the addition of a most important clause confirming all grants made by the General Court, notwithstanding any defect that there might be in form of conveyance. The new Charter, thus framed and amended, was signed on the 7th of October, 1691.

Here ended the labors of Mather as Agent for Massachusetts. On the 4th of November he waited on his Majesty to
thank

thank him for the Charter, and to notify him that the Agents united in recommending that Sir William Phips should be appointed Governor. On the 7th of March, 1691-2, Mather and the newly commissioned Governor left London, and on the 29th sailed from Plymouth, under convoy of the *Nonestuch* frigate, for Boston, where they arrived on the 14th of May, 1692.

It would be foreign to our purpose to attempt to explain the differences between the old Charter and the new one, or to account for the dissatisfaction which was caused by the change. Mather received but scanty praise for his labor, and was even forced to defend his actions. It seems to us, however, that the information collected in this volume will render it evident that the Colony was most fortunate in its choice of an Agent: That he was sagacious, eloquent, dauntless and incorruptible: that he maintained his dignity under trying circumstances: and that without sacrificing honesty to expediency, he proved himself fit to treat with statesmen and to gain the favor of sovereigns. If any importance be attached to the growth of the political system of New England, let it be remembered, that at the most critical period of its history, the energies of Increase Mather gave it a form and shape which it has never lost.

W. H. W.



INTRODUCTION.



THE second volume of the Andros Tracts is devoted chiefly to reprints of rare pamphlets relating to the efforts made by the Agents of the Colony to obtain a renewal of the Charter. As was the case in the first volume, it has been found impossible to follow a chronological arrangement of the contents, but it is hoped that this will not be found to be a serious defect.

Many of the pamphlets herein contained are reprinted for the first time, and the originals have been found to be of extreme rarity. Our readers, therefore, will join us in returning thanks to the liberality of those gentlemen who have allowed transcripts to be made of the volumes in their libraries, among whom may be mentioned John Carter Brown, esq., George Brinley, esq., James Lenox, esq., and S. G. Drake, esq. Similar acknowledgments are due to the Massachusetts Historical Society and to A. C. Goodell, Jr., esq. Transcripts of one or two pamphlets have also been made at the British Museum.

Bulkeley's

Bulkeley's "People's Right to Election" was reprinted in 1860, in the first volume of the Connecticut Historical Society's Collections. The "New England Fables," by Cotton Mather, and a part of the "Brief Relation of the State of New England," were printed in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, 3rd S., vol. 1. The extract from Calef's "More Wonders of the Invisible World," is from Drake's reprint of that book. This list comprises all that portion of the volume which is not now reproduced for the first time.

In preparing this collection, certain bibliographical facts have been noticed which may be briefly mentioned here. In the first place, we have Increase Mather's statement that he wrote the "Miseries of New England," three "Vindications," and the "Reasons for Confirming the Charters," all of which were published anonymously. It is also now evident from a comparison of the types, that the first edition of "Palmer's Defence" was printed in Philadelphia, and that Gersthom Bulkeley was his assistant. We have found that the "Brief Relation of the State of New England" was probably prepared here, and revised and enlarged by Mather, and that it contains a translation of a Latin tract published by the same author. We have restored to Cotton Mather his curious "Fables," heretofore printed anonymously, and we have republished an "Account of the Revolution in New England," which is much more interesting than Byfield's well-known version of the affair.

Two treatises are referred to in the foregoing pages, which have thus far eluded all attempts at identification. These
are

are an "Abstract of the Laws of New-England," and "Considerations against the Charter," both cited on p. 122. No copy of either pamphlet has been found, but it is not probable that this is a great loss to the student of our history.

It must be remembered, that it has not been the intention of the editor to bring within the limits of this Collection all the documents relating to Andros and his administration. Possibly another volume may be added hereafter, to be composed of papers hitherto unpublished, but these Andros Tracts are confined to reprints of the pamphlets issued during the period immediately preceding the grant of the Second Charter. The few documents herein printed from the original manuscripts are those intimately connected with the text. It has not been deemed necessary to republish other scattered papers relating to the history of New England during this period, but it may be well to notice in this connection some of the more important.

Rhode Island Colonial Documents, Vol. III.

P. 212. Commission to Andros, 3 June, 1686.*

219. Letters and Petitions to Andros.

223. Letter of Andros to Lord Sunderland, 30 March, 1687.

248. Instructions to Andros, dated 16 April, 1688.

256. Warrant for sending Andros to England, 30 July, 1689.

258. Petition

* Printed also in Coll. of the New Hampshire Hist. Soc. Vol. viii: in Force's Collection of Historical Tracts, Vol. iv: and Mass. Hist. Society's Collections, Vol. 7th of 3rd Series.

258. Petition from the Governor to William and Mary, 30 January, 1689-90.
 281. Andros's Account of his Administration and Imprisonment.

Maffachusetts Historical Society's Collections.

- 3rd Series, Vol. I. Arguments againft relinquifhing the Charter, 1683.
 Warrant appointing Hubbard Prefident of Harvard College.
 Account of Forces raifed againft the Indians, 1689.
 Account of the Attack on Cocheco.
 Brief Relation of the Plantation of New England.
 S. Davis's Account of the Indian War.
 Petition againft fending a Governor to New England.
 The Political Fables of New England.
- 3rd Series, Vol. VII. Inftuctions to Edward Randolph, Efq. 1678.
 Papers relating to the Topsfield cafe.
 Order to transfer Pemaquid to Andros.
 Randolph's Commiffion as Secretary.
 Inftuctions concerning the Charters of Connecticut and Rhode Ifland.
 Letters from Andros ; Council meetings ; fettlements in Maine ;
 Licenfing of the Prefs ; Revenue Orders, &c., &c.
- 4th Series, Vol. II. Judgment Vacating the Charter of Maffachusetts Bay.
 Orders in Council, 1660 to 1692.
- 4th Series, Vol. VIII. Letter to Mr. Gouge wrongly attributed to Increase Mather.
 Addrefs of the Congregations in New England to James II.
 Memorial of the Diffenters.
 Petition of Mather, Sewall and Hutchinson.
 Papers in the Suit of Randolph againft Mather.
 Petition of Phips and Mather.
 Matters of Complaint againft Andros.
 Order to fend Andros to England.

Colonial Records of Connecticut, Vol. III.

Letters from Andros to Gov. Treat and others.

Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, Vol. I.

The People's Right to Election, by Bulkeley.

Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. III.

Extracts from Capt. George's Account of the Boston Rebellion, and
from John Riggs's Account of the same.

Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Vol. I.

Address of the Inhabitants of Cambridge to James II.
Proclamation by Andros on the birth of the Prince of Wales.
Authorization to Bradstreet and others to continue the Government.
Account of the Rebellion at Boston in a Letter.

Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York.

Vol. III. Letters to Andros from the Duke of York, and his Secretary, Sir John Werden.
Edward Randolph's Report to the Board of Trade.
Andros's Account of New York Affairs, 1674-1677.
Andros's Controversy with Massachusetts, 1678.
Andros's Account of New York, 1678.
Letter to Blathwayt.
Andros's Correspondence with the Commissioners of the United Colonies.
Lewin's Report against Andros and his Reply.
Andros's Account of his Government of New England, 1690.

In Cotton Mather's "Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather," there are reports of various conversations held by Mather with eminent persons in England. Of these, we
may

may specify one with King James, June 1st, 1688, with King William, March 14th, 1689, July 4th, 1689, and April 28th, 1691 ; and with Queen Mary, April 9th, 1691.

This list of published documents might be greatly extended, but enough has probably been said to dissipate any idea that these two volumes are meant to be more than a contribution to the history of the Inter-Charter period.





THE ANDROS TRACTS.



It will be noticed that the following tract relates to an interview with the Prince of Orange on the 21st of *September*, 1688. The true date was of course the 21st of *December*, but in this error we have simply followed the original. It is a curious fact that the error is not only in the first edition, but also in Janeway's reprint ; and it was discovered only by a comparison of dates in preparing the Preface.

A NARRATIVE OF THE
MISERIES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

[PREPARED BY INCREASE MATHER.]

LONDON, printed for *Richard Janeway* in Queen's-Head-Court, in *Pater-Noster-Row*. And Reprinted at *Boston* in *New-England* by *Richard Pierce*. 1688.

PREFATORY NOTE.

AS to the authorship of this pamphlet, we have the following satisfactory evidence. In his Address to the Inhabitants of the Province, prefixed to his Sermon before the Governor and Legislature in 1693, Increase Mather writes, (p. 4.) "But if I never did any thing for the Vindication of the People in this Province from the Aspersions cast upon them by their Adversaries, I desire to know who it was that Published the *Narrative of the Miseries of New England*, and that afterwards wrote a *First, Second* and *Third Vindication of the people there*? If I never endeavoured the Restoration of Old Charter-Privileges, by means of whose Solicitations was it that *Votes* were passed in the *Honourable House of Commons*, that the *Old Charter* should be restored, and a *Bill* wherein the Judgment against that Charter was Reversed, a Copy whereof I can produce? And who was it that wrote and dispersed "Reasons for the Confirmation of that Charter"? &c. &c.

There is of course no reason for disputing Mather's claim to be the author of the following tract on the "Miseries of New-England." The three Vindications we presume were, "A Vindication of New-England," (27 pages quarto, double columns;) "New England Vindicated," (8 pages, quoted by PALFREY, iii. 515;) and "A Brief Relation of the State of New-England," &c., 1689; all of these will be found in the present volume. "The Revolution in New England Justified and the People there Vindicated," &c., printed in our first volume, though bearing a similar title, was published at Boston under circumstances which render it certain that Mather had no hand in its composition.

The following tract, printed from a copy in the library of S. G. DRAKE, Esq., of Boston, was probably issued without a title-page. It was no doubt reprinted from a broadside or pamphlet issued by R. Janeway in London, though we have not met with this presumed first edition. The three papers contained herein are however found separately in a volume, issued in 1689, by that printer, which contains twelve "Collections of Papers relating to the Present Juncture of Affairs in England and Scotland." These papers are in the Sixth Collection, viz: on pp. 17-19, The Bishop of London's Address, and the Address of the Nonconformist Ministers; and on pp. 29-34, The Miseries of New-England.

It may be added that the first Collection is marked "the third edition;" and that in the preface to the sixth Collection, Janeway advertises that R. Baldwin had published a sixth and seventh Collection of "old papers with new title-pages, remote from the present Juncture of Affairs." Mather had therefore sought the aid of a popular mode of publication to lay this statement of his countrymen's sufferings before the English public.

In this reprint we have followed the text of the Boston pamphlet, which we presume was copied from the original edition, noting all variations between and Janeway's Collections.

—ED.



A
Narrative of the MISERIES of
NEW-ENGLAND,
By Reason of an ARBITRARY Government
Erected *there*
Under Sir *Edmond Andros*.

To Which is added, *Some Account of the Humble Application of the pious and noble Prelate, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, with the Reverend Clergy of the City, and some of the Dissenting Ministers in it, To the Illustrious Prince, William Henry, Prince of Orange, on Fryday, September 21. 1688.*

Also *the Address of the Nonconformist Ministers (in and about the City of London) to His Highness the Prince of Orange.*

The Narrative of the Miseries of N. Eng-
land, &c.



HAT a Colony so considerable as *New-England* is, should be discouraged, is not for the Honour & Interest of the *English Nation*; in as much as the People there are generally Sober, Industrious, Well-Disciplin'd, and apt for Martial Affairs; so that he that is Sovereign of *New-England*, may by means thereof (*when he pleaseth*) be Emperour of *America*: Nevertheless, the whole English Interest in that Territory has been, of Late, in apparent Danger of being *lost & ruined*,

ruined, and the Miseries of that People by an Arbitrary Government erected amongst them, have been beyond expression great.

The Original of all which has been the *Quo Warranto's* issued out against their *Charters*, by means *whereof* they have been deprived of their *ancient Rights and Priviledges*.

As for the Massachusetts Colony (whose Patent beareth date from the year 1628) There was in the year 1683, a *Quo Warranto*; and after that, in the year 1684, a Writ of *Scire facias* against them, and they were required to make their Appearance at *Westminster* in *October*, which they knew nothing of till the month before, so that it was impossible for them to answer at the time appointed: yet Judgment was entered against them.¹

Plimouth Colony, after they had enjoyed their first Government above threescore years (without so much as a pretence of Misgovernment alledged) had all their Priviledges at once taken from them. There was a *Quo Warranto* against *Connecticut Colony* (whose Charter was granted to them by King *Charles the Second*) only Letters were sent to them in the King's Name, signifying that (in case they did resign their Charter) they should take their Choice of being under *New York* or *Boston*. Several of the Majestrates there returned a most humble and supplicatory Answer, praying, That their former Government might still continue; but that if it must be taken from them, they had rather be under *Boston* than *New-York*: This was by some at Court interpreted a *Resignation of their Charter*, and a *Commission* sent to Sir *Edmond Andros*, who went² to *Hartford* (their principal Town) and declared their Charter and former Government

¹ The error in this statement is pointed out in note 18, p. 66, of Vol. 1, of these "Andros Tracts."

² "Who went with some armed attendants to Hartford." Janeway's Collections.

Government to be void. As for *Road-Island*, they submitted themselves to His Majesties pleasure.

Before these Changes happened, New-England was, of all the Forreign Plantations, (their enemies themselves being Judges) the most flourishing and desfireable.

But their Charters being all (one way or another) declared to be void and insignificant, it was an easy matter to erect a *French* Government in that part of the Kings Dominions, (no doubt intended by the Evil Counsellours) as a specimen of what was designed to be here in *England*, as soon as the times would bear it. Accordingly Sir Edmund Andros (a *Gernsey-man*) was pitched on, as a fit Instrument to be made use of; and a most illegal Commission given him, bearing date June 3, 1686, by which he, with four of his Council (perhaps all of them his absolute *Devotees*) are empowered to make Laws and raise moneys on the Kings Subjects, without any Parliament, Assembly, or Consent of the People.

It was thought by wise men, that the Remembrance of *Dudley* and *Empson*, who in the dayes of King *Henry* the 8th were executed for acting by a like Commission, would have deterred them from doing so, but it did not, for Laws are made by *few* of them, and indeed what they please: nor are they printed: as was the Custom in the former Governments, so that the people are at a great loss to *know what is Law and what not*. Only, *one* Law they are sensible of, which doth prohibit all Town-Meetings, excepting on a certain day once a year; whereas the Inhabitants have occasion to meet once a *Week*, for the Relief of the Poor; or other *Town-Affairs*. But it is easie to penetrate into the Design of this Law, which was (no Question) to keep them in *every Town* from Complaining to *England*, of the Oppression they are under: And (as Laws have been Establish'd) so *Moneys* have been raised by the Government in a most illegal and Arbitrary way, *without any consent of the People*.
Sir

Sir *Edmond Androfs* caused a Tax to be levied of a *Peny in a Pound*, on all the Towns then under his Government: and when at *Ipswich*, and other places, the *Select Men* (as they are stiled) voted, that inasmuch as it was against the common Priviledges of English Subjects to have money raised without their own Consent in an Assembly or Parliament; That therefore they would petition the King for Liberty of an Assembly before they made any Rates; the said Sir *Edmond Androfs* caused them to be imprisoned and Fined, some 20*l* some 30*l* as the Judges, by him instructed, should see meet to determine; yea, and several Gentlemen in the Country were Imprisoned and bound to their Good Behaviour, upon meer suspicion, that they did incourage their Neighbours not to comply with these Arbitrary Proceedings. And that so they might be sure to effect their Pernicious Designs, they have caused Juries to be pick'd of Men who are not of the Vicinity, and some of them meer Strangers in the Country, and no Freeholders; which actings are highly illegal. One of the former Magistrates was committed to prison without any Crimes laid to his Charge, and there kept half a year without any Fault; and though he petitioned for a *Habcas Corpus*, it was denied him. Also inferiour Officers have extorted what Fees they please to demand, contrary to all Rules of Reason and Justice. They make poor Widows and Fatherless pay 50*s* for the Probate of a Will, which under the former easy Government would not have been a Tenth part so much. Six Persons who had been illegally imprisoned, were forced to give the Officers 117*l*. whenas upon Computation they found that here in *England* their Fees would not have amounted to 10*l*. in all. And yet these things (tho bad enough) are but a very small part of the Misery which that poor people have been groaning under, since they have been governed by a Despotick and Absolute Power. For, their new Masters tell them, that
their

their Charter being gone, their Title to their Lands and Estates is gone therewith, and that all is the Kings? and that they represent the King; and that therefore all Persons must take Patents from them, and give what they see meet to impose, that so they may enjoy the Houses which their own Hands have built, and the Lands, which at vast Charges in subduing a Wilderness, they have for many Years had a rightful possession of, as ever any People in the world had or can have; Accordingly the Governour ordered the Lands belonging to some in *Charles-Town* to be measured out, and given to his Creatures, and Writs of Intrusion to be issued out against others. And the Commons belonging to several Towns have been given to some of the Governours Council, who begged them, to the impoverishing, if not utter ruining of whole Townships: And when an Island belonging to the Town of *Plimouth* was petitioned away from them by one *Nathaniel Clark* (whom *Sir Edmond Andross* made his Property) because the Agents of said Town obtained a voluntary Subscription to maintain their Title at Law, they were compelled to come not only out of their own Country, but Colony, to *Boston*, to answer there as Criminals at the next Assizes, and bound to their good Behaviour: The Officers in the mean time extorting 3*l* per Man for Fees. These were the miserable Effects of *New-England's* being deprived of their Charters, and with them of their English liberties: They have not been altogether negligent, as to endeavours to obtain some relief in their sorrowful Bondage; for several Gentlemen desired *Increase Mather*, the Rector of the Colledge at *Cambridge* in *New-England*, to undertake a Voyage for *England*, to see what might be done for his distressed Country, which motion he complied with; and in June the 1st, 1688, he had the favour to wait on the King, and privately to acquaint him with the enslaved and perishing Estate of his Subjects in *New-England*. The King was
very

very gracious and kind in his Expressions; then, and often after promising to give them ease as to their Complaints and Fears; amongst other things the said *Mather* caused a petition from the Town of *Cambridge* in *New-England* to be humbly presented to his Majesty, which because it doth express the Deplorable Condition of that People, it shall be here inserted.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The Petition and Address of *John Gibson*, aged about 87, and *George Willow*, aged about 86 years; as also on the behalf of their neighbours the Inhabitants of *Cambridge* in *New-England*.³

In most humble wise sheweth,

That Your Majesty's good Subjects, with much hard Labour and great Disbursements, have subdued a Wilderness, built our Houses, and planted Orchards, being encouraged by our indubitable

³ This petition is in Hutchinson's History, i. 367, (edition of 1764). Savage mentions JOHN GIBSON as of Cambridge, 1634, and the names of his eight children. He died in 1694. He is mentioned in Newell's "Cambridge Church-Gathering," p. 59. (Boston, 1846.)

Of GEORGE WILLOWES, Savage has no record, yet he is mentioned in the "Church-Gathering," p. 58, with wife Jane, and children Thomas and Stephen, in 1658. In the Middlesex Court Files for 1660, there is a paper in favor of one Winifred Holman, signed by eleven men and fourteen women, of Cambridge, viz.

John Greene, Nathaniel Green, William Dickfone, John Polfery, Francis Whitmore, Mathew Bridge, Richard Ettles, Thomas Fox, John Bridge, William Towne, Gregory Stone, Mary Hals, Mary Ettles, Isobell Whitmore, *Jane Willows*, Martha Towne, Rebecca Wieth, widow Stone, Mary Patten, Anna Bridge, Elizabeth Green, Joan Dickfonne, Elizabeth Winship, Ellen Fox, and Elizabeth Bridge. See also N. E. Hist. Gen. Register, xvi. 76.

We are not aware of the reason which led to the framing of this special petition. ED.

bitable Right to the Soil, by the Royal Charter granted unto the first Planters, together with our Purchase of the Natives; as also by sundry Letters and Declarations sent to the late Governour and Company, from His late Majesty Your Royal Brother, assuring us of the full enjoyment of our Properties and Possessions, as is more especially contained in the declaration sent when the Quo Warranto was issued out against our Charter.

But we are necessitated to make this our Moan and Complaint to Your Excellent Majesty, for that our Title is now questioned to our Lands, by us quietly possessed for near 60 years, and without which we cannot subsist. Our humble Address to our Governour Sir Edmond Andros, shewing our just Title, long and peaceable Possession, together with the claim of the benefit of Your Majesty's Letters and Declarations, assuring all your good Subjects, that they shall not be molested in their Properties and Possessions, not availing.

Royal Sir, We are a poor People, and have no way to procure money to defend our Cause in the Law; nor know we of Friends at Court, and therefore unto Your Royal Majesty, as the Publick Father of all Your Subjects, do we make this our humble Address for Relief, beseeching Your Majesty graciously to pass Your Royal Act for the Confirmation of Your Majesties Subjects here in our Possessions to us derived from our late Governour and Company of this Your Majesty's Colony. We now humbly cast our selves and distressed Condition of our Wives and Children, at Your MAJESTY's feet, and conclude with the Saying of Queen Esther, If we perish, we perish.

Thus that Petition,

Besides this, Mr. *Increase Mather*, with two *New-England* Gentlemen, presented a Petition and humble Proposals to the King, wherein they prayed, that the Right which they had

had in their Estates before the Government was changed, might be confirmed; and that no Laws might be made or money Raised, without an Assembly, with sundry other particulars; which the King referred to a Committee for Foreign plantations, who ordered them into the hands of the Attourney-General to make his Report. The Clerk, *William Blathwait* sent to the Attourney General a Copy, wherein the Essential Proposal of an Assembly was wholly left out; and being spoke to about it, he said the Earl of *Sunderland* blotted out that with his own hand. Likewise a Soliciter in this Cause related that the said Earl of *Sunderland* affirmed to him, that it was by *his* Advice that the King had given a Commission to Sir *Edmond Andross* to raise moneys without an *Assembly*, and that he knew the King would never consent to an Alteration, nor would he *propose* it to His Majesty. When of late all Charters were restored to *England*, it was high time⁴ for *New-England* to expect the like; for if it be an illegal and unjust thing to deprive good Subjects here of their Laws⁵ and Liberties, it cannot be consistent with Justice and Equity to deal so with those that are assar off. Applications therefore were made to the King, and to some Ministers of State: It was urged, that if a Foreign Prince or State should, during the present Troubles send a *Friggot* to *New England*, and promise to protect them, as under their Former Government, it would be an unconquerable Temptation; yet no Restoration of Charters would be granted to *New-England*, which has opened the Eyes of some thinking men. Thus has *New-England* been dealt with: this has been and still *is* the bleeding state of that Countrey: they cannot but hope that *England* will send them speedy relief; especially considering that throw the ill Conduct of their present Rulers, the French Indians are (as the last Vessels from
thence

⁴ "It was highly rational for New-England." JANEWAY.

⁵ "Of their Antient Rights and Liberties." JANEWAY.

thence inform) beginning their cruel Butcheries among the *English* in those parts. And many had fears that there is a Design to deliver that Countrey into the hands of the *French* King, except His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, whom a Divine Hand has raised up to deliver the Oppressed, shall happily and speedily prevent it.

*The humble Application of Henry Lord
Bishop of London, &c.*⁶



HE declared in excellent Words that they came to pay Him their humble Duties and most grateful Respects for His very great and most hazzardous Undertaking for their Deliverance, & the Preservation of the *Protestant Religion*, and the Ancient Laws and Liberties of this Nation. *He addeth*, That they gave up daily many Thanksgivings to Almighty GOD, Who had hitherto been graciously pleased so *wonderfully* to preserve his Person, and prosper & Favour his good Design: and they promised the continuance of the ferventest of their Prayers to the same GOD, and to use all concurrent Endeavours in their Circumstances, for the promoting, yet further, that Work which was so happily begun; and also for the perfecting of it, not only in this Kingdom, but in other Christian Kingdoms. *He likewise suggested to the Good Prince,*

That

⁶ This title stands more fully in Jane-way's Collection thus, "Some Account of the Humble Application of the Pious and Noble Prelate, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, with the Reverend Clergy

of the City, and some of the Dissenting Ministers in it, To the Illustrious Prince William Henry, the Prince of Orange, on Friday, September 21, 1688."

That some of the Dissenting Ministers and their Bretheren were there present, who having the same sence of His Coming hither with themselves, adjoined⁷ themselves with them, by him, to render their humblest and most grateful Resentments.

His Highness was pleas'd to declare, That
He thanked them for their Attendance, and acquainted them very briefly with the cheifest ends of His Difficult and Chargeable Expedition.

That indeed it was to preserve and secure the Protestant Religion (His own Religion and their Religion) and assuring them, He should not think any thing (not Life itself) too dear to hazzard in promoting and PerfeCting so good a Work. Also He offered up (with great Devotion) his solemnest Acknowledgement to Almighty God for His Presence with him and Blessing upon his Endeavours & Arms hitherto. And asked the Continuance of all their Prayers to God for him.

*The Address of the Nonconformist Ministers &c.*⁸



WEDNESDAY, *January the 2nd.* Diverse of the Dissenting Ministers in and about *London*, that go under the Denomination of Presbiterial and Congregational, to the Number of 90 or upwards, Attended His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, at *St James's*, being introduced by the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Wharton*, and the Lord *Wiltshire*, their Sense was represented by one of these Ministers to this Effect. *Viz.*

That

⁷ "Had joined themselves." JANEWAY. Ministers (in and about the City of

⁸ In Janeway's edition this title is London) to His Highness, the Prince of
 "The Address of the Nonconformist Orange."

That they professed their grateful Sence of His Highness's hazzardous & Heroical Expedition which the Favour of Heaven had made so surprisfingly prosperous.

That they esteemed it a common Felicity that the worthy Patriots of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom had unanimously concurred unto His Highness's Design, by Whose most prudent Advice, the Administration of publick Affairs was devolved in this difficult Conjuncture, into the Hands which the Nation and World knew to be apt for the greatest undertakings and so fuitable to the present Exigency of our Cafe.

That they promised the utmost Endeavour, which in their Stations they are capable of affording, for the promoting the excellent and defireable Ends, for which his Highness had declared.

That they added their Continual fervent Prayers to Almighty GOD, for the Preservation of his Highness's Person, and the Success of his future Endeavours for the Defence and Propagation of the Protestant Interest throughout the Christian World.

That they should all most willingly have chosen *that* for the Season of paying this Duty to his Highness, when the Lord Bishop and the Clergy of *London* attended his Highness, for the like purpose (which some of them did; and which his Lordship was pleased condescendingly to make mention of to His Highness) had their Notice of that intended Application been so early as to make the *more general* Attendance possible to them at that time.

That therefore tho they did now appear in a distinct Company, they did it not on a distinct Account, but that only which is common to them and to all Protestants.

That tho there were some of eminent Note, whom Age or present infirmities hindred from coming with them, yet they concurred in the same grateful Sense of our Common Deliverance.

His

His Highness was pleased very favourably to receive this Application and to assure them

That he came purposely for the Defence of the Protestant Religion ; and that it was his own Religion wherein he was born and bred, the Religion of his Countrey and of his Ancestors ; That he was resolved by the Grace of God, alwaies to adhere to it, and to his utmost endeavours for the Defence of it ; and the promoting a firm union amongst all Protestants.

LONDON, Printed for Richard Janeway in Queen's-Head-Court, in *Pater Noster-Row*. And Reprinted at *Boston* in *New-England*, by *Richard Pierce*. 1688.





THE
Present State of the
NEW-ENGLISH AFFAIRS.

[From a copy in Massachusetts Archives, Vol. xxxv. p. 83.]

This is Published to prevent False Reports.

*An Extract of a Letter from Mr. Mather, to the Governour,
Dated Sept. 3, 1689, from Deal in Kent.*⁹



HE House of Commons Ordered a Bill to be drawn up for the Restoration of Charters to all Corporations. Some Enemies of *New England* did bestir themselves on that Occasion. But it has pleased God to succeed Endeavours and Solicitations here so far, as that N. E. is particularly mentioned in the Bill.

It has been read twice, and after that referred unto a Committee for Emendations. What concerns *N. England* passed without any great opposition. The Bill has been in part read the third Time, and the Charters of *N. Eng.* then also passed without Objection. Only some Additional Clauses respecting Corporations here, caused Debates; so that the Bill is not as yet Enacted.

In

⁹ This document was issued as a broadside. A copy is preserved at the State House, Boston.—ED.

In the latter end of *June*, a Vessel from *Mount Hope* arrived here, which brought your Declaration of *April 18*, with an account of the Revolution in *New-England*. The week after I went to *Hampton Court*, and had the favour to wait on His Majesty, who told me, *That He did accept of, and was well pleased with what was done in New-England, and that he would order the Secretary of State to signifie so much, and that His Subjects there should have their Ancient Rights and Priviledges restored to them.*

The King has sent a Gracious Letter (which was delivered to me, and if I return not my self, I shall take care that it be sent to you) bearing Date *August 12*. *Wherein He signifies His Royal Approbation* of what has been done at *Boston*, and assures you that the Government there shall be settled, so as shall be for the Security and Satisfaction of His Subjects in that Colony, and in the mean time bids you go on to Administer the Laws, and manage the Government, according as in your Address you have Petitioned.

My Lord *Mordent* (now Earl of *Monmouth*) bade me assure you that He would be your Friend, and he bade me tell you from him, *That your Charters should be restored to you by Act of Parliament.*

I have been with most of the Kings most Honourable Privy Council, who have promised to befriend *New England* as there shall be occasion for it. The like I may say, of all the Leading-men in the Parliament.

I have been in the *Downs* a fortnight, and Aboard Mr. *Clark*, several Nights, but the Wind has been against us. And we now hear that the *New-found-Land* Convoyes (on whose Assistance we had a Dependence) are gone.

Supercribed,

To the Honourable

Simon Bradstreet, Esq :

Governour of the Massachusetts Colony in N.-England.

A

*A Passage extracted from the publick News-Letter, Dated
July 6, 1689.*



THE people of *New-England* having made a thorow Revolution, and secured the publick Criminals On *Thursday* last, the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Mather*, President of the *Colledge*, and Minister of *Boston*, waited on the King; and in a most Excellent Speech laid before His Majesty, the State of that People; saying, *That they were sober, and Industrious, and fit for Martial Service; and all with their Lives and Interests were at His Majesties Command, to tender the same unto His Majesty: That they desired nothing but His Majesties Acceptance of what they had done, and His Protection; and that if His Majesty pleased to encourage and Commission them, He might easily be Emperour of America.* His Majesty assured him, that He was pleased with what was done for Him, and for themselves in the Revolution, and that their Priviledges and Religion should be secured unto them.

*Extracted from a Letter of Mr. Mather, to his Son, Dated
Sept. 2, 1689.*



ON *July 4.* The King said unto me, *That He did kindly Accept of what was done in Boston. And that His Subjects in New-England should have their Ancient Rights and Priviledges Restored and Confirmed unto them.* Yea, He told me, *That if it were in his power to cause it to be done it should be done,* and bade me rest assured of it.

The *Charter-Bill* is not finished, becaufe some Additional Clausfes respecting Corporations here in *England*, caused a Debate; and the Parliament is for some weeks Adjourned.

Besides

Besides the Letter from the Kings Majesty, whereof we have notice as above; there is now arrived, an Order from His Majesty to the Government, bearing Date, *July 30. 1689.*

Requiring, *That Sir Edmund Andros, Edward Randolph, and others, that have been Seized by the people of Boston, and shall be at the Receipt of these Commands, Detained there, under Confinement, be sent on Board the first Ship, bound to England, to answer what may be objected against them.*

Boston, Printed and Sold by *Samuel Green*, 1689.

Mss. Archives, Vol. 35, p. 83.

¹⁰ This broadside of four pages has been inserted here as an example of Increase Mather's diligence, not only in forwarding the wishes of his constituents in England, but in keeping them informed of his success. The period to which it refers is about a year after the arrival of the Prince of Orange in England, and the letters show that empty promises of the restoration of the Charter were all that had been obtained from the new Government.

It will be noticed, however, that on p. 17 we have another proof of Mather's connection with the tract on "The Miseries of New-England," as he is there represented as using the exact words with which that pamphlet commences, (*Ante*, p. 3.) It is amusing to

note, however, that the same speech served in the first instance for King James, and in the second for King William.

In the valuable volume of "Mather Papers," recently published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, (fourth series, volume eighth,) p. 710-11, will be found copies of the orders for sending Andros to England, mentioned above. On pp. 679-70 will be found a copy of a letter from John Dunton to his friend, Richard Wilkins, of Boston, detailing the circumstances attending the presentation of the Address of the Presbyterian ministers to the Prince of Orange. This seems to refer to the address which we have printed on pp. 12-14.—ED.



A
VINDICATION OF NEW ENGLAND,

(PREPARED CHIEFLY BY INCREASE MATHER,)

AND CONTAINING

THE PETITION OF THE EPISCOPALIANS OF BOSTON
TO THE KING.



PREFATORY NOTE.



S we have already shown in the preface to the "Narrative of the Miseries of New England," there is every reason to assign the authorship of this "Vindication" to Increase Mather. He claims to have written a "first, second and third Vindication of the people there," and though this publication was anonymous, we can hardly be wrong in assuming it to be one of the three, especially as none are known to be extant with Mather's name on the title-page. Against this theory would be placed the assertion at the close of the pamphlet that it is from the pen of one who never had "spent seven years of his life in any part of America"; yet this may well be but a palpable evasion, the literal fact being that an amanuensis was employed to transcribe the copy for the press.

The reader will probably see in this Vindication the proofs that the true author was one thoroughly conversant with the subject even to its remotest details. While we consider that all the facts and even most of the expressions were furnished by Mather, we regard it as probable that some one of his English friends may have interpolated those passages which Mather could not with propriety have written, and may thus have become the ostensible author for the time being.

The writer of this tract has furnished many interesting details of the points most earnestly disputed between Mather and his opponents. The great questions of the lawfulness of the Revolution and the propriety of a restoration of the Charter, are not more warmly defended than are the comparatively trivial matters relative to the building the Episcopal church, and the theological discussions of Increase Mather. The recent publication of a volume of "Mather Papers" by the Massachusetts Historical Society has enabled us to explain nearly all of the references in the text.

The edition from which our reprint was made is in 27 quarto pages, in double columns. It lacks a title-page, and seems to have been printed in this neighborhood, either at Boston or Cambridge. If any edition were issued in London, we have failed to learn of the existence of a copy. From a statement made in the text, this pamphlet was evidently published after Palmer's Account had been issued in London, and before the appearance of the large Vindication of the colonists in reply to Palmer.





A

VINDICATION OF NEW-ENGLAND.

Poor *New-England* !

THOU hast always been the eye-fore of Squinting malignity; the *Butt* of many Envenomed Arrows, which from time to time have been Shot at thy Tranquillity; but of none more wickedly Designed, than those late *Addresses*, which have (after their fashion) Endeavoured to alienate Their *Majesties* Affections from thee. However let it be known, Thou has friends in *England* who SuffICIENTly know thy circumstances, to wipe off the Dirt now cast upon thee, And give thee a better and more faithfull Carracter.

What sincere *Protestant* in the three Kingdoms can behold (without Regret) the Injuries, and hard measures, which that *Protestant Country* hath of late mett with all from the *Tory* Adversaries? A *Protestant Country* 'tis, (we say) and of the *Church of England* too (whatever is blattered to the Contrary) in that they acknowledge the Doctrinal *Articles of Religion* here professed, and that with a greater sincerity than many who have subscribed these Articles (for preferments) and after preached up *Pelagian*, *Arminian* and *Socinian*

nian Hereses (not without a spice of *Popery*) which are to them most palpable Contradictions.

The things wherein that *Country Dissents* from that which is Commonly called the *Church of England*, is their *Liturgy* and form of *Church Government*; while in the same time they Agree therein, not only with the *Nonconformists* of *England*, but with *all* the rest of the *Reformed Churches* in *Christendom*: Let the matter be thoroughly scan'd, and you will find very little Difference between the *Scotch, French* and *Dutch Churches*, and the *Church of New-England*: Perhaps nothing but this, that the *Church of New-England* chooses to do that more *Explicitely*, which is done *Implicitely* in all those other Churches; And if the Pastors and Elders of the Churches there have been a little more willing to manage their *Discipline, Consentiente plebe*, than it is in some other Churches, they think they have enough to say for it, to Excuse them from the Imputation of *Schism*. Here then the Difference between *Presbyterian* and *Independent* is wholly swallowed up in that Country; and any one, having a Certificate of his Communion in any of those *Forreign Churches* mentioned, is admitted into the like Communion there, without any further Difficulty.

The *first Planters* of *New England* could not indeed comply with several things Imposed in the *Church of England*, for that they thought them *unwarrantable*, and the Compliance therein, *Unto them (Dissatisfied) Sinful*. The imposers tho' they *confessed* the things *Indifferent*, yet (so Rigid were they, as to) sett themselves ever to destroy the Non-compliers. And that was the cause, why a Company of Persecuted Protestants (then reproachfully called *Puritans*) made a peaceable Seceſſion from the Rage wherewith they

they were every where pursued. And having obtained [consent¹¹] and *Charters* from the *King*, which they hoped would have been the perpetuall Instruments of their protection by the *Crown of England*, 3, or 4000, of them, (of whom some were Honourable Persons, some Famous for Learning) Transplanted themselves from their desirable Native Country, into that Howling wilderness of *America*. And coming over with the Royal consent and Charter, they purchased their possessions of the Native Proprietors, who were no way damaged, but greatly advantaged by their coming amongst them.

Tis impossible to Relate all the Hardships and sorrows, which they underwent in subduing that horrid Wilderness: But the good providence of GOD so smiled upon them, that in a little time that Wilderness was by their great Endeavours & Expence improved into an habitable Country: And by the after Natives there (who knew no other) accounted too pleasant a Land to be parted with on Trifling accounts: And altho' in the last 50 years, more have gone out of it than ever went into it, Yet hath New-England encreased (by the blessing of God) to a people of (perhaps many more than) 100 000 Souls.

The Settlement and prosperity of that Country hath not a little contributed to the *Revenues* of the *English Crown*; for it is from there chiefly the West Indian Plantations have their *Provisions*, *Timber*-[*trade*,¹²] *Horses*, &c., so that in all things whereby they do advantage the Crown, they must acknowledge they are beholdling to *New-England* for it,
without

¹¹ This word being torn off in our copy is supplied conjecturally; the phrase is repeated six lines below.

—ED.

¹² The word trade is conjectural, the original being defective in a copy belonging to S. G. Drake, Esq., as well as in our own.—ED.

without which they had hardly been capable of *Subsistence*, or indeed of *Settlement*. The N.-Englanders pay *Customs* in the Southern plantations for all they fetch from thence into their own Countrey: And when they bring them hither, they pay the same over again, Besides the vast *Returns* they otherwise make into *England*, i. e., *Plate, Oyl, Peltry, Fishery*, &c. Their *Shipping* has also been Considerable, for which they are (or may be with Encouragement) so well furnished with All Materials, that the King may (if He please, & as Occasion Requires) there build whole *Navies*, as well as thence fetch a few *Masts*, and that at very easy Rates, as is Judged by men that understand those Affairs.

Notwithstanding these advantages, they have been *no wayes Chargeable to the Crown of England*, while they quietly enjoyed their Charters; what it has cost the King since their disturbance, the Exchequer Officers can best inform you. *Indians* have more than once made Bloudy Wars upon them, but (by Gods help) they have with much Bravery and Gallantry, repressed and subdued the Salvages, tho' not without considerable Expence, yet they never put a farthing to the Kings Account, tho' it were to maintain the Extent of his Dominion. This is far beyond what any other such English plantations can pretend to.

Add to this:

They have Erected a Considerable *Colledge* amongst them for the Education of their Youth in Piety and good Literature; Tho' they have had no Royal *founders* (no *Alfreds*, no *Balliols*, no *Henrys 6th* or *8ths*, no *Queen Eleanors &c*) no great prelates (Such as *Chicheley, Fox, Wicklif, Woolsey &c*) to promote so glorious a Work; No Extraordinary *Benefactors* (Tho' they are not ungratefull to the Memories of such as have freely Contributed to so great and Useful a Charge).

Charge). A *Colledge* that has sent forth Able and Faithful Pastors to more than 100 Christian Congregations, in that Country, besides the help they have afforded to some other parts of the World. A *Colledge* that has been supplied with Students from *free Schooles* ordered to be settled in Every Considerable Town of the Collonies. A *Colledge* that has *Educated Indians*, to make them serviceable to their own Countrymen; which Pagans, tho' they have often molested, and some times sorely Distressed the honest New-Englanders, yet their Charity has so far Exceeded towards them, as to endeavour their Welfare both Temporal and Eternal.

On all this, the *Colledge* by Ingenuous & Civil Education hath had its proper Influence. The *Colledge* which *we* say was a *Noble* and *Necessary* Work, and therefore deserves all Encouragement and Promotion. *Noble*; for where is the Like in all the English America? where, even among those that in wealth do far Exceed the poor Laborious New-Englanders, is there any such thing? And *Necessary* too; for else the Rising Generations would have soon become Barbarous; because neither would their Estates reach to seek Education in *England*; neither would any person of worth goe from hence (unless driven by Persecution) so far off to seek Employment when he might have it nearer home. 'T was therefore a brave and happy thought that first pitched upon this *Colledge*; Tho' at some times it has been unhappy in this, that it has bestowed its favours (its A. M.s.) on some ungrateful persons,¹³ who would now undermine that Government upon which its foundations were laid; and by which for so long a time its superstructure has been always sustained.

The

¹³ The special reference was probably to Samuel Myles, who was of the Class of 1684 at Harvard.

The *Loyalty* of that people to the Crown of England and its Legal Government, is found, whatever to the Contrary has been Asserted or Insinuated; not only *Interest* obliges them, but *Temper* and *Religion* disposes to a Readiness, in testifying their *Allegiance* to their King upon all occasions; some late Instances may manifest it to be *Signal*: But we shall first hear what their accusers say, and then convince them and the whole World, that the Adversaries of New-England have the least cause to Boast and vaunt themselves in this matter; as will appear in its place.

Upon Consideration of the foregoing particulars, we may well say, that man had Reason, who formerly in Print published an account of that Country, to conclude his Discourse with this passage.¹⁴

One would think such a People should not find an Enemy amongst any sort of Christians, but those called Papists, or else among such as Papist like, can give up their Religion, Rights Liberties and Properties, nay, their very senses, to the Conduct of their fellow Creatures.

But it cannot be Imagined, that the Enemy of all good, should not always be inspiring some or other to be molesters of such a people, and to endeavour their Reproach and Ruin: they have been a People too like the *Primitive Christians* to be any other wise used in the World, than those Ancient Confessors of our Saviours time. Hence they have not only been frequently Troubled by the *Tawnies* among whom they dwell, but have also been continually *Blackened* by the Calumnies of some that dwell among themselves, who have been willing to serve the *Accuser of the Brethren*: But God has
Payd

¹⁴ We have been unable to identify this quotation.

Payd them their Wages : for it has been often observed that the Remarkable Judgments of Heaven have first or last overtaken the Adversaries of that People ; tho' God hath for a while Fatherly Chastised them by those Rods which he hath afterwards consumed. 'T were easy to fill a Volumn with Instances : from the Pestilent MORTON, (the Petty fogger, at the beginning) to the Infamous RANDOLPH (who comes now in the Fagg end) they have generally been unhappy. And yet some Trouble-some *Tobiahs* and *Sanballats* will not be sufficiently warned against following the Steps of such unhappy Predecessors.

This People must be still Disturbed, Yea, *Exterminated* ; Do they not see it ? They are the Sleepiest People in the World if they do not perceive that there was a Deep Design to Remove them out of their Country : The Late King told a Gentleman of New-England, *He hoped he had now sent a wise man amongst them* (Relateing to their late Governour *Sr. E. A.*) *Wise* indeed ! for he had the *Wisdom* to say (upon Occasion) That it would be for the (then) *Kings Interest, for that people to be removed and another introduced.* And *Chamberlain* in his Book¹⁵ Entituled *Angliæ Notitiæ* had the vanity very broadly to Intimate, that *Policy made such a thing to be but necessary.* But how should this be done ? Why, only send some French Dragoons amongst them to *Teach them Succoths Lesson* by the *Briars and Thornes of the Wilderness.* Well, God with a miracle of Mercy, has by the late *Revolution*, Rescued them from some of those Dangers : and yet there are a company of *Restles Persons* amongst them, that are struggling to get them back into what they have Escaped ; And *Lyes* are the *Refuge* unto which therein they have had their Recourse.

There

¹⁵ Chamberlayne's "*Angliæ Notitiæ*," tinued for many years as an Annual or Present State of Great Britain, con- Register.

There scarce ever went a Civil stranger into those parts, but he hath Admired & Predicated the Charity, Civility and Hospitality of that People; yet some Ill-minded men, who went thither *Poor* enough, and after grew *Rich* and *Great* amongst them, have been so abominably ungrateful as to Revile that Country with Clamours and Slanders, purposely to procure them all Manner of Oppressions. And altho' (by the just Judgment of God) some of those Malecontents and Ill-wilers of their Neighbours, were of the first that smarted under *Oppressions* of their Arbitrary Government, yet they are (it seems) still Joging on in the same Track of Malevolence, nor will the rest be warned by *this Experience*.

But of all the Revilings with which that People have been abused, we know not if worse *Bearers Skins* have been at any time put on them then those contained in an *Address* lately made to the King by a small Knot of Male contents in *Boston*, who injuriously stile themselves by the Name of *the Church of England*.

It runs in such Terms as these.

'To the Kings most Excellent *Majesty*.

'The *Humble Address* of Your *Majesties* most *Loyall* and

'*Dutifull* Subjects of *the Church of England* in *Boston*, in

'Your *Majesties* Territory and Dominion of *New-England*.

'*Most Gracious Sovereign*,

'*There has but few years past over our heads since by the*

'Grace and Favour of Your *Majesties* Royall Predecessor, we

'were delivered from the Slavery and Thralldom of a most

'Extravagant and Arbitrary Government, which had long

'been Exercised over us, and many others of Your *Majesties*

'Subjects, under Colour and pretence of a Charter (wherein

'no

' no part thereof but the Name, was ever made use of or
 ' Regarded) and by that means have been so happy as to enjoy
 ' the freedom of Divine Service & Worship after the manner
 ' of the Church of England; which was never until the
 ' Vacating of the said Charter Admitted or allowed to any;
 ' but all were forced by their Penal Laws to frequent their
 ' Meetings; and be deprived of the benefit of the Sacrament,
 ' and other Sacred Rites: None being admitted thereto but
 ' such as are in Church Covenant and fellowship with them,
 ' and their Children, which doth not include the Tenth part of
 ' Your Majesties Subjects in these parts, to the great shame and
 ' Scandall of the Christian Religion and hinderance of the
 ' Propagation thereof.

' That tho' since we have had the Liberty of our Religion
 ' we have endeavoured to carry ourselves Void of Offence to
 ' those that Dissent from us, and have at our own Charge
 ' Built and Errected a Convenient Church for the Publique
 ' Worship and Service of God; Yet such is the Mallice of our
 ' Dissenting Neighbours, that we are become the Object of
 ' their scorn, and forced to take many Affronts and Indigni-
 ' ties by them frequently offered to our Persons & Religion,
 ' which some of their principall Teachers have lately in a
 ' Printed Treatise charged to be Idolatry and Popery.

' We have lately to our great Horror and Amazement been
 ' forced to behold A well Established & Orderly Govern-
 ' ment here Subverted and Overthrown: the Governour, several
 ' of the Council, and other principall Officers and Persons by
 ' force of Armes Seized and Kept under long and hard
 ' Imprisonment, Your Majesties Standing Forces and others
 ' Raised and imployed for the Defence of the Country against
 ' our Indian and other Enemies disbanded, and their Officers
 ' Cruelly Seized and Imprisoned, and by that meanes an Ad-
 ' vantage given to our Enemies who have since destroyed and
 ' laid waste a very Considerable and goodly part of Your
 ' Majesties

' *Majesties Territory, with the loss of some Hundreds of Your*
 ' *Subjects; many Forts and Garrisons in those Parts of con-*
 ' *siderable force & Service which by the Disbanding of the*
 ' *Souldiers were lost and deserted. Your Majesties Frigate here*
 ' *Ordered for the defence and security of the Coasts against*
 ' *Pirats and other Enemyes, Dismantled and made wholly*
 ' *unserviceable whilst Pirats infested the same; and Your*
 ' *Majesties Revenue which amounted to about 12 000 Pound*
 ' *Per Annum, wholly lost: and all this by a party of pretended*
 ' *Zealous and Godly men moved upon no other grounds or*
 ' *Reasons but their own Ill Principles Malice & Envy, being*
 ' *more fond and Regardful of their former Charter Govern-*
 ' *ment (famous for Nothing but their Male Administrations*
 ' *and Cruel Persecutions of all persons Differing from them*
 ' *in matter of Religion Only) than of their Duty and Alle-*
 ' *giance to your Majesty; who have since taken upon them to*
 ' *set up & Exercise their said former Government, and to put*
 ' *in Execution their pretended Laws made under the same,*
 ' *which are wholly contrary and repugnant to the Laws &*
 ' *Government of Your Majesties Realm of England, and to*
 ' *the great grievance and Oppression of some Thousands of*
 ' *Your Majesties Loyal Subjects; but more particularly to*
 ' *those who now Humbly Address Your Majesty, who have*
 ' *been thereby Injured and abused both in our Civil and Reli-*
 ' *gious concernment; Our Church by their Rage and Fury*
 ' *having been greatly hurt and Damnified, and dayly Threat-*
 ' *ned to be pulled down and destroyed; Our Minister hindred*
 ' *and Obstructed in the Discharge of his Duty and Office;*
 ' *and we now put under the Burden of most Excessive Rates*
 ' *and Taxes, to support the interest of a Disloyall prevailing*
 ' *party amongst us, who under pretents of the Publick good*
 ' *Design nothing but Ruine and Destruction to us and the*
 ' *whole Country.*

' *And as we cannot but from the bottom of our hearts*
 ' *Declare*

' *Declare our utter Abhorrance & Dislike of those and all other their Sedicious Actions and proceedings, so we are Resolved with patience to undergoe and suffer whatsoever shall be imposed upon us, and to maintain our Duty and Allegiance to Your Majesties; not doubting but that by Your Majesties gracious favour and Protection we shall be Relieved and Delivered from the same.*

' Amongst these our Sufferings we are greatly Comforted, when to our *abundant joy & satisfaction* we received the *Joyful News* of Your Majesties Great and glorious Enterprize for the defence and maintenance of the Protestant Religion and Interest, and of Your Majesties happy Accession to the Crown; and since Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to have *Particular Regard* to the Religion of the *Church of England*, so we hope that small Branch thereof which hath but lately Sprung forth in this Remote part of the World, will not want Your Majesties favour and Countenance that it may grow up and Flourish and bring forth *Fruits of Religion* and Loyalty, to the honour of Almighty God, and the Promotion and Increase of Your Majesties interest and Service.

' And to that end we humbly beseech Your Majesty that we may not be left under that *Anarchy and confusion* of Government under which this Country hath so long Groaned: but that the same may be Ruled and Governed, by a *Governour & Council* to be appointed by Your Majesty, with the *Advice* of an *Assembly* of the People in matters proper for their Cognizance, *as others* Your *Majesties* Plantations are Ruled and Governed, with such other Liberties and Priviledges as Your Majesty shall think most proper and conducing to Your *Majesties* Service and the General Welfare of Your Subjects in the Several parts of this Your Territory and Dominion of *New-England*.

' That the great God of Heaven will Continue to Bless
' Your

' Your *Majesties* with a glorious Success in all Your under-
 ' takings, Enable You to Vanquish and overcome all Your
 ' Enemies, and give You a Long, peaceable, and prosperous
 ' Reign over us and all Your Subjects Through out Your
 ' Realm and Dominions; and that they may never be wanting
 ' to shew forth their Duty and Obedience to Your *Majesties*,
 ' is and shall be the hearty and Continued Prayers of
 ' Your Majesties most Dutifull and
 ' Loyal Subjects, in the Name
 ' and at the Desire of *the*
 ' whole Church

Samuel Miles, M. A.

Francis Foxcroft,

Samuel Ravenscroft,

} Church Wardens.¹⁶



U *ſus contrarium Verum eſt.* 'T is questionable whether there are Twenty Conſiderate perſons in New-England, who upon the Reading of this ſtuff, would not preſently ſay, upon their *own Knowledge*, this Prolix *Harangue* contains not a little *Falſhood*; and that a Direct *Traveſtee* to the whole would be a far more honeſt Declaration of their minds. The name of *An Ad-dreſs* is too gentle for ſuch a Scandalous Paper. But if we may

¹⁶ Samuel Myles was the ſucceſſor of Robert Ratcliffe as Rector of the Epifcopal Church in Boſton, having been inducted 29th June, 1689. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully of him in a ſubſequent note. Francis Foxcroft was the third ſon of Daniel Foxcroft, of Weetwood, co. York, and

thus of honorable deſcent. He was a ſupporter of Andros, and imprifoned with three others in 1689. (See Vol. 1, p. 4.) Samuel Ravenscroft, as before ſtated, (Vol 1, p. 5,) probably left Boſton with his family ſoon after the date of this petition.

may Admit that Gentleman's Notation of a *Libell* (a *Lie* becaufe *Falſe*, and a *Bell* becaufe *Loud*) this whole Paper being *One Loud Lie* (founding from *America* to *Europe*) may be hence forth called *A Libell*. The Reader we ſuppoſe cannot but have marked the *General Impudence* thereof: Yet let us a little further Gutt the Creature now in our hands, and diſcover ſome more of its *Garbage*.

Si quod vis Dixeris, quæ non vis Audies.—That's the *Theme* (Mr. *Rhombus*) and now come we to the *Exordium*: The Inſcription runs thus, *To the Kings moſt Excellent Ma-jeſty &c.*,—and why not to the King and *Queens*? has *She* no ſhare in the *Regency*? But indeed *what King* do they mean? we find ſcarce one word in the whole which (with a tollerable Interpretation) might not be applyed to the late King *James*: But there are divers Expreſſions which cannot be uſed to our Illuſtrious King *William* without a moſt ſaucy & frantick Impudence: 'Twas therefore likely intended for K. *James*; and then it was delivered to K. *William*: let them conſider how the miſtake happened. As to the Titles they give themſelves and their Addreſs, *Humble, Moſt Loyall, Dutiful*, and of the *Church of England*; let them paſs here as a Complemental crack, but we ſhall ſay ſomething to them hereafter.

Now for the pedantick *Narration*, in which ſee how Wiſely they begin with Celebrating the *grace and favour* of His Majesties *Royall Predeceſſor* in the change of *New-Englands* Government about 4 or 5 years ſince: mean while conſider how negligent are all the Corporations of England (whereof that of *New-England* was called one) that they have not all this while Represented to His Majesty the High opinion they had of His late Majesties *Grace and Favour* in depriving *them* of their Charters. A Grace and Favour, ſay yee? we thought

thought his present Majesties descent into *England* was on purpose to deliver the English Nation from such *favours*. *A favour?* no, 'twas a *Treason* against the Crown of *England*, as designed to destroy the Dominions thereof; and if so, they which carried that Token of love, deserve something for their labour. As to *New England* in particular, it was a *monstrous favour*, to overturn that Government under which the Plantation had flourished some scores of years, and not one in Twenty but dreaded an alteration thereof; and in the Room of it to Establish a Government absolutely destructive to the English-mans *Magna Charta*, empowering a *Frenchman*,¹⁷ with *four more* (none of them chosen by the people) to make *Laws*, leavy Taxes, and send all of them 2 or 3000 miles out of their Country when they pleased: whether a *Defensive War* should call for any so to be so exposed or no: This was the *Grace and favour* which they received.

The favourable *way of conveying* this memorable *favour*, we suppose the New Englanders do well Remember. 'Twas by a *Quo Warranto* issued out against them, and a Declaration requiring those few particular persons mentioned therein, to make their defence at their own particular charge. The *Governour and Company* appointed an Attorney to appear and answer the *Quo Warranto* in the Court of the *Kings Bench*. But the prosecutors not being able to make any thing of it *there*, a new suite was (*favourably*) commenced, by a *Scire Facias* in the high Court of *Chancery*: there, tho' an *Impossible time*¹⁸ for their appearance and answer was assigned, yet Judgment was entred up against them for default in non appearance; and was not all this admirable *grace and favour?* Besides this, they cannot hitherto forget, that

¹⁷ We do not remember another instance of the charge of being a Frenchman having been brought against Andros. As a Guernseyman it was an obvious though unfounded taunt.

¹⁸ The question of undue haste being displayed in the forfeiture of the Charter has been already discussed in our first volume, p. 66.

that altho' King *Charles* (in his Declaration) assured them that no man there should be Invaded in his *property*, yet upon the vacating of their Charter their new Masters made bold and did them the *favour* to tell them that they had now lost all *Titles to their Lands*; they were all the Kings: and accordingly began to serve *Writts of Intrusion* upon them. As for those that are fond of *such favours*, let them have their Belly full, and much good may it do them.

Yet all this might [have] had some *favour* in it, if it were (as they say) a *Deliverance from the Slavery and Thralldom of a most Extravagant & Arbitrary Government*: surely if it had been such as they represent it, yet it is not a little uncouth for the favourers of the latter *usurpations* to call it so. And yet let them know (*how Extravagant and Arbitrary* soever it was) few in the Territory were for its dissolution, but such as were for the raising of their own fortunes upon their Neighbours ruines. The Government by Charter containing divers privileges for encouragement of so great an undertaking, was the product of *King and Council*, on whose wisdom 'tis no small Reflection to call it *Extravagant*.

Oh! but they say, *No part of the Charter but the name, was ever made use of or regarded*. A charge which their most Violent accusers had never yet sothead enough to alledge against them: why was not this proved where the *Quo Warranto's* were served? Indeed the Administrators of the Government were *men* who had their faults, but all mankind knows they have been ready to correct the Errors when they have seen they did not rightly understand some Particulars in their Charter.

Well; but it seems the Destruction of that Government has made some *so happy as to enjoy the freedom of Divine Service and Worship after the manner of the Church of England, which was never untill the Vacating of the said Charter*
admitted

admitted or allowed to any. 'Tis true that the *Common Prayer Worship* was not so publickly used before the late *usurpation* and Invasion of their Government. But see the reason; 'T was not because the Government *would not allow it* (that's the shameless lie of these *Addressees*); the Government never *did* nor *durst* hinder any persons from the use of *that Service*. They many years since repeal'd a Law (made in the days of yore) which seemed to bare a little upon but *one piece* of that Service. They have always had that regard unto the Statutes of England, that they never (as we can learn) gave the least molestation to *that way*,¹⁹ altho' 'tis well known that Plantation was Erected by the first planters on purpose to avoid many things therein. The truth of the matter is this; There could never be found amongst them to make a Sufficient Congregation to *that way*, untill the change of the Government powered in some strangers who were to raise (to themselves) Estates amongst them. Before *that*, those of *that way* who had any visible sense of Religion usually joyned in worship with the Churches of *New-England* as finding nothing in those Administrations to offend their Conscience, tho' perhaps not enough to please their *Appetite*. Besides if any one appear to be a man fearing God, they receive him to the *Lords Table*, notwithstanding his being *Episcopal*. Or if at any time there were any number of *that way*, they could never find *Clergie-men* to undertake the care of their souls. 'Tis confessed that once or twice a Debauched Priest

¹⁹ Notwithstanding this denial, it is clear from the repeated reference to the points in the discussion between the Colony and the Crown, after 1660, that the Episcopalians were aggrieved in two ways. They were liable to a fine for not attending some regular meeting, and they had in reality no church of their own established at which they might attend. They were also debarred

from keeping the festivals and fasts of the Church of England. The Colonists (see Mass. Records, vol. iv, part ii, p. 220,) in 1662, attempted to prove their previous innocence, and certainly promised abundant toleration. There was probably ground for the views of both parties; Episcopacy had been discouraged and made practically impossible, but not in terms forbidden.

Priest has appeared amongst them; particularly one *Vardenbosch*,²⁰ who, besides the good work of *Baptizing* a noted Whore or two of his acquaintance, made private *Marriages* without any previous publication of *Banes* (which is a nuisance & *Bane* to all humane society); and yet so tender was the Government as only to give them some *Orall Rebukes*, upon which the guilty Knaves have run away. Persons indeed that will Drink, Sweare, Fornicate, practice and preach up (the honest games of) Cards, Dice &c, have never found New-England a good Fishing ground. And others that have had more *Grace* have also (for the most part) had more *Witt* than to Cross the Ocean for a dwelling in so *Cold a Country*. And this is all the Interruption that ever the Church of England found in those parts of the World.

They next affirm that all this while, *such as were in fellowship and Church Covenant there and their Children do not include a Tenth part of His Majesties Subjects in those parts*. Which if true we must needs say, *Tis* (as they add) *to the great shame and Scandal of the Christian Religion*. But where must the *Shame* lye? The Churches there open the Doors for all godly men to come to their Sacraments. Let any person (of whatever persuasion) manifest a real piety, and see if they shall be denied any Ecclesiastical Priviledges or Ordinances. In the same Church there have been *Presbyterians, Independents, Episcopalians* and *Antipædobaptists*, all welcome to the same Table of the Lord when they have manifested to the Judgment of Christian Charity a work of Regeneration in their souls. To speak plainly; If the Church

²⁰ SAVAGE says that Lawrence Vardenbosch, a Huguenot clergyman, undertook to solemnize marriages in Boston in 1685. "He was brought before a tribunal for this enormity and promised 'to do no more such things,' yet in Sep-

tember says Judge Sewall, he joined together Giles Sylvester and Hannah, widow of Benjamin Gillam. The reverend offender went to New York the same week."

Church of *England* do *Practice* according to what it does *profess* in the Qualifications which the Rubrick of its Liturgy requires of all Communicants, it must Exclude *more than Ten* of its members from the Sacrament where the Church of *New-England* Excludes *one* in any of its Congregations.

Yea, travel to any English Plantations in America, and see whether *New-England* has not proportionably *Ten times* more Communicants than any of them all. It is well known that Barbados and Virginia are no Countrys of Non-conformists to the Church of England; will you then know what Mr. Godwin²¹ (a *Church-man* of their own) testifies concerning them? Of *Barbados* he writes thus: *A Country in England of the same Extent with this Island has commonly an hundred or more Parishes and Ministers; but in this Island half of the Churches are destitute, tho' but Eleven in all: and in those Churches that are better supplied, it is known that Prayers and Sermons are usually delivered to little more than the bare walls only, notwithstanding the Multitude of English people belonging to each, of whom not a fifth part could be admitted into most of them should they all appear.*

Of *Virginea* he writes; *It is most certain, that there are many families who have never been present at any publique Exercise of Religion since their Importation into that Collony.* These things were published more than *Ten Years* since; and it may be soon Enquired whether the Bishop of *London* (who claims Jurisdictions over those Countreys) has yet redressed things that are so much *to the great shame and Scandal of the Christian Religion.* Why the Episcopals now should represent *New-England* as odious upon this Account, no *Reason* but *Malice* can be given. However we shall indeed be sorry, if His Majesties Subjects in *New-England* do so much disregard the great King of Heaven; that

²¹ We have not been able to obtain the title of Mr. Godwin's discourse.

that not a *Tenth part* of them can, or will make a good Claim unto His Blessed Sacraments ; but the Truth is, scarce a *Tenth part* of what these people say, is true. If they refer to *Baptism*, we must confes there was One who had the Impudence to Preach before he was Baptized ; his Name was *Samuel Myles*,²² *M. A.* : but this was none of the Countrey's fault, 'twas because of his Descent. There are *divers times Ten Towns* in that Countrey that have not *half Ten* families (free from a bad fame) in which the Children are not Baptized. If the Assertion of these Reproaches could any where be verified, one would think it should be in *Boston* (which most abounds with *Strangers* and consequently with *Vices*) ; yet if any man should say, *they that are in Church Covenant and their Children do not make a Tenth part of His Majesties Subjects there*, all the Town would proclaim him a most *notorious Lyar*. It seems there is one *Tenth part* of the *Ten Commandments* which these men have no concernment for. But perhaps there is a reason for it.

Say they, *That tho' since we have had the Liberty of our Religion &c.* And what is their Religion ? do the *Ten Commandments* belong thereunto ? how then do they make fo light of the *Ninth*, and become such bold false Accusers without Scruple ? will they nullifie *that*, as the Papists have the *Second*, and some others who have listd at the *Fourth* ; the *Tenth* too (as will appear in the sequel) and perhaps all the

²² Samuel Myles, says SAVAGE, was the son of Rev. John Myles of Swansea, who came from Swansea, Wales, about 1662. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1684, and succeeded Ratcliffe as Rector of the King's Chapel at Boston in 1689. From the foregoing passage it would seem that there may have been some irregularity about his qualifications. GREENWOOD, (His-

tory of King's Chapel,) says that Myles visited England in July, 1692, returning in July, 1696, and he continued to officiate, with occasional assistance, till his death in March, 1727-8. He married the widow of Rev. Mr. Danfy.

Of his character, GREENWOOD writes, " he must have been a worthy and pious man and an acceptable preacher."

the rest so stand in their way as that they must be all kicked down, or they can never have the Liberty of their Religion, and go on comfortably therein. *Our Religion!* What then? will they say that their Religion lyes in a few *Ceremonies* (or if you will, *Complements*) which, they must own were never called for by the word of God? *Our Religion*, and why *ours*? It seems it is a distinct one from that commonly professed in *New-England* (the true Protestant reformed Religion) which is also professed by the *Church of England*? Then 't is certainly nothing else but a mark of Separation, a *Criterion* of a *Faction* in *Boston*, Arrogating the name of the *Church of England*. But be it what it will,²³ "*since we enjoyed the Liberty thereof*——

"*We have endeavoured to carry ourselves Void of offence to those who dissent from us.*" 'Tis the very Language of *Julian the Apostate* when he Rob'd the Primitive Christians of their All; he thus bespeaks them. "*Good people, I hope this is no Offence to you, 'Tis to help you to Heaven, for you know your Master taught you: Blessed are the poor.*" Now (Reader) consider The chief Administration of the late Government was in the hands of men mostly of *their Communion*: and then see how *Inoffensive* was their carriage towards the *New-Englanders* that dissented from them. 'Twas (doubtless) *no Offence* to the *New-Englanders* to be publickly and frequently told, That (*the Common Rights of Englishmen belonged to them, and that it was not for His Majesties Interest they should Thrive.*) Was it not *Void of Offence*, that when any of them did but peaceably propound a leave to petition His Majesty for an *Assembly* before Taxes were Raised, they were after a hard *Imprisonment*, *Fined* some 20, 30, 50 *Pound*, besides intollerable *Fees*, at the same time *Exacted* from them?

What

²³ We have employed quotation marks in use at the time this pamphlet was in many instances, to avoid the constant printed.—Ed.
recurrence of the brackets which were

What *Offence* could it be that some of their principal Gentlemen in the Country should be Imprisoned, bound to the behaviour, and Cruelly squeezed by the demands of *Cormorant* Messengers and Officers, and all without any accusation, but on the *meer suspicion* that they were of the same opinion: and that some of their former *Magistrates* were more than a *Half year Imprisoned* without any fault laid to their charge, and were denied an *Habeas Corpus* when their petitions fought it? It was *no Offence to them* for their *Ministers* to be draged out of their own Country, that they may be tryed for *sedition Preaching*, by a Jury most of the Church and be sure none of the Dissenters because their own Country (where they were best known) could not afford a Pannel wicked enough to Ruine them, on the Testimony of *one* single debauched person, contradicted by the whole Assembly that heard the Sermon: What if in such Triall of a Minister, we borrowed a point or two of our Law, in admitting no Exceptions against strange Lodgers, Journey-men, and other mean fellows; who must all be capacitated by one of our Worshipfulls then on the Bench more than once offering to trust this or that man for 40 *Pounds*, when he was excepted against as *Incompetent*?

What if by another Worshipfull of ours some witnesses²⁴ of the Defendant was threatned with the Gaol, for offering to Swear to a dangerous Truth? What if our Church here subscribing, follacing themselves in a Tavern with divers other Company out of Zeal to the business, stormed at the news brought in (that the *Defendant was acquitted*) and one of them particularly said, that (*had he been one of the Jury, he would have either starved himself, or all the rest, but the Bill*

²⁴ The original text has wrongly the word "writes" for witnesses. Our copy of the original has been carefully corrected in a handwriting nearly contem-

poraneous with the publication, and we have consequently followed the amended text in many cases.

Bill should have been found)? It seems he knew some considerable Intreague depending there upon. But what then? who need be *Offended* at any or all of this? It was *no Offence* to them to be debarred from ever meeting above once a year to Transact any *Parish business*, for fear they should represent their greivances to the King for his Redrefs. And for the same cause, that a little *Juncto* of them at *New-York* (after they could not make it pass at *Boston*) should Spawn an *Act prohibiting any mans going out of New-England*, without a chargeable permission obtained from the Secretary?

What *Offence* was it for them to be *Outed of all Title* to their *Lands*, after all the incredible Labour & Treasure, spent in their subduing? and to be compelled to *buy a Title* at a price which all the Moneys and moveables in the Territory could not have satisfied? Was it *any Offence* to them, that the Lands of Widdows and Orphans and other peoples proprieties were beg'd into their own hands by some of the Counsellors ruling over them? And if the Inhabitants of any Town did but essay to make a Voluntary Subscription for a stock to bear the Charges of a Trial at Law for their *Town Lands* thus invaded, they were Prosecuted, Imprisoned, and Fined, as the worst of Criminalls. It was *no Offence* to them, that Villians have gone into Courteous and Honest houses in the Country, where the Civil Inhabitants have given them a Cup of Drink upon their request, and then the Knaves dropping 3 *pence* in a By-Corner of the House, have gone and Sworn they *bought* Drink there. If upon this the *good people* have been fined and if some *Great people* went snips with those who lived upon this abominable Trade, *what offence* is there in all this? It was *no offence* to them that when their Oppressors never punished a *Quaker* for *not Swearing* at all, they yet punished many Holy and Worthy men for only Scrupling that mode of using the *Book in Swearing*; and this at the same time when they Allowed

New-

New-Yorkers (under the same Government) to Swear with an *up lifted hand*, as the *New-Englanders* desired and offered to do upon all Occasions. But in *New-England* (it seems) some Jobbs were to be done, which sometimes Required shaking off a *Testimony* or Garbling of a *Jury*, If Sheriffs had not punctually observed their Instructions; and therefore was it not very necessary A distinction should be made?

Let not the Reader think that these things are spoken without *proof*: the *Agents of New England* will (we suppose) Immediately²⁵ Publish the proofs of these Articles they have brought hither against *Sir Edmond Andros* and his accomplices, being obliged thereunto by one *Capt. Palmer*, (lately Dub'd a *Judge* in New-England) who has put his Name to the Title Page of a Pamphlet, formerly & privately Printed in that Country, Compos'd by the Assistance of a Native there,²⁶ and now Republished at London; the designe of it is

²⁵ This passage would fix the issue of this pamphlet as being prior to the publication of the larger work, the "Revolution in New England Justified, &c., 1691."

²⁶ From the concluding pages of this pamphlet, it may be inferred that Palmer's assistant was Bulkeley—viz: "Sir William Jones, who was Attourney General in the Reign of K. Charles the Second, and knew as much of the Law as any Palmer or Bulkley of them all." This passage occurs where Palmer's Account is under special examination. There is every probability that the assistant of Palmer was Gershom Bulkeley, of Wethersfield, who was a zealous advocate of Andros and his Government. He is often cited as the author of "Will and Doom," a ponderous work in favor of Andros, which has never yet been printed, though the manuscript is extant. (See Trumbull's Conn.

Records, iii. 388-9.) It is clear that the first edition of Palmer's Account was printed in Philadelphia, where Bulkeley had a volume printed in 1689. By the kindness of George Brinley, Esq., of Hartford, we give a copy of its title, as follows:

"The Peoples Right to Election, or Alteration of Government in Connecticut, Argued in a LETTER; By GERSHOM BULKELEY, Esq.; one of their Majesties Justices of the Peace in the County of Hartford. Together with a LETTER to the said Bulkeley, from a Friend of his in the BAY. To which is added the Writing delivered to James Russell, of Charlestown, Esq., warning him and others concerned, not to meet to Hold a Court at Cambridge, within the County of Middlesex. By THOMAS GREAVES, Esq.; Judge of their Majesties Inferior Court of Pleas, and one of their Majesties Justices of the peace within

is to Slander the honest New Englanders, Especially with reference to the *Revolution*; the Occasion whereof being manifested in the several proofs of all that is charged upon them, will clear that people from his Imputations; and then the World will see if we *talk at Random*.

The people of New England endured these and a hundred more such Injuries, chiefly from a little Gang among them who went by the Name of the *Church of England*: And yet all this while yee²⁷ Silly New Englanders have more Witt (we hope) than to *Take Offence* at such things as these. Ay, and if they had likewise Butchered you all, you had not been like Sheep (as you are) if you had ever taken the least *Offence* at your Oppressors.

Offence? no; So sweet and Kind were they, that to *Avoid Offence*, they (have as they say) *At their own charge built and Erected a Convenient Church*. A great piece of *Supererogation*. But *when* was this done? why, 't was after they had the free use of the *Town-house* which would more than have contained them all: but this would not serve their turn: they then demanded the Keys of the *South Meeting house*, which when some Gentlemen (who had a *Right* in the House) did not surrender, Governour *Andros* told them
he

within the said county. And also his ANSWER to Mr. Broadstreete and the Gentlemen mett at the Town-House in Boston, concerning the same, Published for the Information and Satisfaction of their Majesties loyall (but abused) Subjects in New-England. Philadelphia; Printed by Assignes of William Bradford, Anno 1689." 4to, pp. 18.

The title is only the heading of p. 1, occupying rather more than half of the page.

A comparison of the type of this

pamphlet with that of Palmer's first edition makes it certain that they proceeded from the same press. Especially we would note the initial "T," with which both pamphlets begin. It may be added that Bulkeley's pamphlet has the title arranged in the same mode as Palmer's, viz. at the top of the first page, and it is almost certain that neither had a separate title-page.—ED.
²⁷ "Yee" in the text seems an error of the printer for y^e, meaning "the."

he would presently seize on that House and all the Meeting Houses in the Country, and hinder them from Contributing the Value of Two pence toward the maintenance of any Non-Conformist Ministers. He also bade them Consider what Effects the Stifness of the Protestants in France had, who would not Yield in what they might have done (note that well) and now there is not the name of a Protestant in France. But this not prevailing, they thrust them selves into that Meeting-house, and there continued untill by Interrupting the people of the South Congregation, often in their Times, sometimes in the very parts of their Worship the whole Town cried shame upon them. And then 'twas (*bonis avibus*) they thought of *Building*.²⁸

Now to evidence that they did this great work *At their own Charge*. 'Tis notorious they went a *begging*²⁹ to all the Congregations in the Town for Money to Erect their Edifice, which they call a Church (tho' by the way, it was never *Consecrated*) Several Non-Conformists gave towards it; (as the Indian worshiped one whom he feared else would hurt him.) Such contributors (we suppose) Expected no great reward of their bounty in the *other* World, and now they see they are like to have none in *this*. Thus *at their own Charge* they built an *House*; but can the Towns-men of *Boston* tell at whose charge the *Land* was purchased?³⁰

All

²⁸ Concerning this forcible appropriation of the South meeting-house, see GREENWOOD, (pp. 36-41.) The offense has often been magnified, but as will be seen, it was not a confiscation of the Church, or real injury to its owners.

²⁹ These contributions were sanctioned by Andros. See a warrant from him to Capt. Anthony Howard, Capt. William White and Mr. Thaddeus Macarty, printed in Mass. Historical Soc. Coll. 3rd Series, vol. i, p. 84.

³⁰ The question of the land on which the first wooden Chapel was erected has always been a source of ill-natured remark. There is no doubt that a portion of the public burying-ground was thus taken, and possibly in order to obtain sufficient room, a few graves were disturbed, as the writer of this pamphlet seems to intimate in a subsequent passage. The ground covered by the first building was however much smaller than that occupied by the present

All this *Inoffensiveness & Charge* notwithstanding *Such is the Mallice &c*—How? *Scorn* such a well deserving people and those who have so many ways obliged you, to return upon them many and often *Affronts and Indignities*?

However the *Affronts* of their persons they could bear, but for the *Indignities* offered unto their *Religion* they cannot but Complain: for (they say) *Some of their principall Teachers have lately (in a Printed Treatise) Charged our Religion to be Idolatry and Popery.*—Indeed!—It seems then all their Religion lyes in a few *Traditions of Men*; for we know of no *Treatise* among the *New-Englanders* against any thing else, and so 'tis no wonder if it meets with such a charge.

By

ent Chapel, and at the time of its erection this land was on the very verge of the Common. A series of articles by the late N. I. Bowditch, Esq., in the Boston Transcript, shows the probable condition of the land in 1686. The corner lot, where the Albion and the brick houses on Beacon street now stand, belonged to Penn Townsend. The next estate was John Coggan's, covering the Pavilion estate; then on Tremont street was the Bellingham lot, and one or two more possibly, and in the centre, about the place occupied by the stores over which Mr. Papanti's hall extends, was the Sewall estate.

Here was a ridge called Cotton Hill, and at its foot was the road beside the burying-ground, since known as Tremont street. On School street, just below the Chapel, was the town school, and in behind this was a house which must have occupied nearly the site of the City Hall. There was evidently no particular reverence paid then to the boundaries of the burying-ground, probably as little as we now witness in most New England villages.

The Episcopalians made several attempts to buy land at Cotton Hill of Judge Sewall, but he refused to sell. In the new volume of "Mather Papers," (Mass. Hist. Soc. 4th S. viii. 517,) Sewall writes under date of 24 July, 1688: "Tis finally said that the Church shall be set between the School House and Capt. Townsend's corner, many of the Council urging it, so that it might not stand just full up with Mr. Moodey's gate, where it would have wholly cut off the way between my fence and John Coney's, and have stood upon the cart-way that now is into the ground." From this it appears that the land was taken by direction of the Council, and after consulting the wives of the owners of the neighboring land, in the selection of the spot. In 1748, the Church bought certain pieces of land of the town, before proceeding to erect the new stone building; and it would seem reasonable, that if the town could then grant away a portion of the yard, the Governor and Council as supreme authority in 1688, had the same right to make the original grant.

By the *Treatise* they mention, we suppose they mean that for which they once persecuted Mr. *Mather* the Younger:³¹ a *Treatise* Intituled *The Unlawfulness of the Common Prayer Worship*; which *Treatise* has nothing in it but what every Non-conformist generally subscribes unto. The sum of it is, A placid and modest account of the Reasons upon which the people of New England (as well as other good people in the world) cannot conform to the *Worship*, though they do to the *Doctrine*, of the Church of England. And this was published long enough before *Sir Edmond Andros* arrived in that Country, yet a long while after (wanting other pretexts to take off *Mr. Mather* from his *Ministry*) they began a process against him for this Book.

When Mr. *Mather* told the Justices that the same Law which made that Book punishable, would punish all the Non-conformists in the Country (and there are scarce any other) for not being present at the *Common-Prayer* Worship,—One of the *Subscribers* of this Libell (who was then a Justice) replied *It was in a way to bring it to that Extremity*.

Of that Book we need say no more than what (we hear) Mr. *Mather* spake before the Justices when they were Teizing him about it. *Gentlemen, This Little Book has only two matters in it; the one of History, and the other of Argument. As for the History it is either true or false; if true, you know whom it affects: if false, give me so much as one Instance where it is so. As for the Argument 'tis either strong or weak; if strong, I know who has the worst on't; if weak, appoint some body to show wherein: your present way of Answerings does but agree with the wretchedness of your cause.*
And

³¹ Mr. Mather "the Younger" was of already (vol. i. p. 180, note) given the course Rev. Increase Mather. We have title of his book, and of an answer to it.

And (we believe) Mr. Mather desires no better hap to befall his Book, than to be thus complained of.

If the complainers were not *beside themselves* when they writt the *last passage*, be sure they were when they uttered the Next; for thus they say. (*We have to our great Horrour and Amazement been forced to behold A well Established and Orderly Government here subverted and over thrown.*) 'Tis indeed an *Horrour and Amazement* that has perfectly *Crazed* them beyond the cure of *Hele-bore*; they are certainly *Planet-struck*. For if, when the whole English Nation Assembled in *Parliament* had by an Unanimous Vote Expressly declared, that *The proceedings against the Charters of New England were Illegal & a grievance*: If yet then one (amongst them) in his scattered Pamphlets go to convince them "*they were fairly dealt with*": If (we say) this must needs begett wonder in the *New Englanders* at the impudence of such Incendiaries; how much more to hear any call the late *Commission Government* there "*A well Established and Orderly Government*:" and this to the very Face of that great and just Prince, whom the English nation will for ever Celebrate as their deliverer from such kinds of *Government*: what can they ascribe this unto, but such an Horrour & Amazement as hath not left them so much as their common senses?

If even in K. *James* his time, not a few publick Prints did commonly call it (no less truly than boldly) *A French Government*, 'tis strange that any who speak *English* (now at this time of day) should call it "*A well Established and Orderly Government.*" A *Government* which was a *Treasonable Invasion* of all the rights belonging to the English nation; a *Government* which would scarce permit any but *Knaves* or *Slaves* to live under its Influence; a *Government* under which *Wickedness* would be sure of countenance, and *Piety* be

be as fure of the utmoſt diſcouragement. A *Government* whereof one of your own *Gang* (the Memorable *Ned. Randolph*, in his Letter Dated June 2d. 1683) Confesses *They were as Arbitrary as the Great Turk*. And is this your *Well Eſtabliſhed & orderly Government*, yee Impertinent Creatures? Is this the *Government* on which (you tell His Maſteſty) you are ſo much enamoured? Here *again* It may be well Doubted and Enquired, to *what Kings moſt Excellent Maſteſty* it is, that you Direct this your uncouth Addreſs?

They go on to Complain that the People of New-England *Seized* their late oppreſſors, and *Reſerved* them for what Juſtice they ſhould by orders from Their Maſteſties be directed unto. A thing which Their Maſteſties have been ſo far from blaming, that they have Declared Their kind *Acceptance* as well as *Allowance* thereof. Was the Imprifonment *Hard*? Shew in what Circumſtances, unleſs it be grievous for a Tyranical *Bajazet* to be Caged. Was it *Long*? Truly had not the patience of *New-England* been very *long*, *Shorter* work might have been made of the buſineſs. 'Tis the opinion of no mean perſons in *England* (tho' the Opinion of *New-England* was otherwiſe), That upon their *Fiſt Imprifonment* they might have been *Tried, Judged, Executed*, and that without blame and According to Law, (as their Predeceſſors *Empſon* and *Dudley* were) for Traytors to the whole Engliſh Nation. But the poor honeſt people rather fought their *own Liberty*, than to take a ſeverer *Vengeance* on their Adverſaries.

Then comes the diſbanding of the *Standing Forces*: A word not ſo very grateful to the palate of Engliſh Parliaments. *Standing Forces*! Whom do they mean? what *Coats* did theſe Forces wear? do they mean thoſe that were brought a thouſand Leagues to keep the Country in awe?

A

A crew that began to teach *New-England* to Drab, Drink, BlaspHEME, Curfe and Damm. A crew that were every foot moving Tumults and Committing Insufferable Riots amongst a quiet and peacible people, and that without Redrefs upon frequent Complaints. These were the *Standing Forces*; but they were fitt Instruments for the work to be done by such a *Well Established and orderly Government*.

Oh, but by *that meanes*, advantage was given to our *Enemies*, *French and Indians &c.* Indeed for them to lay upon the *late Revolution* all the disasters which afterwards hapned in the Eastern Provinces of that Country, is to tell us that the fall of *Tenterden steeple* was the cause of *Godwin-sands*. But does no body know how the French and Indians became their Enemies? who was it that Rob'd *Castien* (a French man) who had Married amongst the Indians? Well; but suppose the French and Indians were Enemies to *New England*: They were all *still* the Winter before the Revolution! And what? were they not so the Winter after it too? 'T was the *Summer* (when the Leaves of the woods covered them) was the season for them to do their mischief; and Sr. Edmond's methods (however by some applauded) could not have prevented it. To charge the present Government (after the Revolution) with disbanding the *Standing Forces and others Raised and Employed for the defence of the Country*, is the basest thing Imaginable: for 'tis manifest that their disbanding of themselves did *make the Revolution*. And as for the present Government (of whom they do complain), 'tis certain they accepted no Interest in the Administration of affaires, till, *after the Revolution*, the cry of the whole Country did even force them there unto.

There were several things happened, which made the Armies Suspicious that Sir *Edmond* had conducted 7 or 800 men into the Eastern WilderNESS in the Depth of Winter,

on

on purpose to Sacrifice them there. As for Instance: He, speaking once to a person of good Quality about the people of *New England*, had seen cause to say *They were a People only fitt to be rooted off the face of the Earth*. Several of the Souldiers in the army Testifying, that divers Indians haveing Accefs to *Sir Edmond Androfs* in the Fort of *Pemaguid*, carried away with them considerable quantities of Powder and Bullets. A Captain of the Country-Souldiers, and a great Creature of *Sir Edmond's* too, affirmed he saw there a *gold Ring* which was sold to a woman by an Indian, who declared it was given him by *Sir Edmond*. They knew also that when the Justices had Seized the *Ring leader*³² of the Indians who had begun to make their spoil upon the English, *Sir Edmond* fell into an extream rage, and said (against the mind of some of his Council) he would set that Indian at liberty. Some of the Council desired that this prisoner might be Examined before *them*, to which he Replied *That he never had a quarter of an hours conference with any of them, and that he Scorned to Discourse with any Heathen of them all*. And yet it is affirmed by persons of good Credit, that he Immediately withdrew and Repaired to the Prison, and continued several hours in private with that Indian, who was soon after dismissed: and committed afterwards the most barbarous Cruelties of the Succeeding War.

They likewise knew, that when some out-places began to Fortify and Garrison their houses upon the first Insurrection of the Indians, they were by *Sir Edmund Androfs* compelled with severe threats to desist from so doing. Several Indians have told strange Stories; as particularly, one *Solomon Thomas* (an Indian), affirmed to the people of Sudbury, that the *French* and *Irish* were to take possession of *Boston* in the Spring. And when *John James* (an Indian) did of his own accord affirm to several of *Sudbury* afore-said, That *Sir Edmund*

³² This Indian was Hope Hood. (See Vol. i. p. 110.)

Edmund Androfs had hired the Indians to kill the English; the people there secured him and complained thereof to a Justice of Peace who committed him to Prison; but Sir Edmund was kind to the Indian prisoner, and at the same time gave the basest abuses both to the Justice and the complaining people. Another Indian called *Joseph* came and vaunted that *Sir Edmund* had more love for them than he had for the English. And a couple of Indians, whose names was *Waterman* and *David*, Testified that the *Maquas* had sent a messenger to *Pennicook* (an Indian Fort) to inform them, that *Sir Edmund* had hired them to Fight against the English, and for that end had made them a great present; but they would not so do, because the English had never wronged them: however the *Maquas* said they took the present as pay for what Service they had done for the English in the former War. These *Maquas* (or *Mohawks*) were compelled by *Sir Edmund* to make peace with the French at Canada, which the Indians themselves bitterly resented, and all men saw this was but to serve the French Interest to the apparent hazard of & Ruine to *New-England*. 'T is true, the sober people of *New-England* laid very little stress upon Indian Testimonies, yet they could not be without Apprehensions when they saw what methods were taken for confuting of these Testimonies. The New-English Armies in the East, who did nothing but Starve, Freez and perish there, knew most of these things. Now considering such things as these and receiving the surprizing news of *K. James* his being retired into *France*, and that there upon *Sir Edmund* himself Immediately left the Armie, they presently (many of them) without Order went home to their Friends; and it was *this* that produced the *Revolution*.

When the *Revolution* had cast the Government into better hands, their first care was to settle the *East* and procure a peace;

peace ; but the Sachems with whom they Treated proving false, and prosecuting the War, the Government of the Massachusetts sent the greatest Armies they could possibly raise, to defend the places in those provinces which were most in danger ; which has cost them *many Thousand Pounds*, besides *many persons lives* that are lost.

And yet after all this,—for a Company of ill-minded people to *Article* against the Government for Exposing these Provinces to Ruine, when themselves know that the whole Country upon too manifest grounds ascribe the *beginning of the War* to some with whom they have been best acquainted, —Is a most wicked and abominable absurdity ! And much more for any of those *Eastern people*, who have Fled from their Plantations when many hundreds of the *Massachusetts* have been sent forth to Fight and Dy for their security till the owners shall think fitt to return ; for *these* at the same time to *Article*³³ (as some of them have done) against the *Massachusetts* as the cause of their losses ; Yea and to pretend to the loss of more *Thousands* than they ever were owner of *Scores* : is most Diabolical falsehood & most horrid Ingratitude ! It would better become them to reflect upon their former manners in those parts, which ('tis to be feared) have cried as loud as ——— but, *enough* of that (and *more* than they can hear with any patience.)

Having related the Crimes of the *New-Englanders* by Land, They come next to declaim against them as Criminal also at Sea. “ *Your Majesties Frigate Ordered for the defence and security of the Coasts against Pirats, dismantled and made wholly unserviceable, while Pirats Infested the same.*” Ay, and what if the worst *Pirats* came from on board of *that Frigate* ?

³³ See the Petition of the Inhabitants of Maine, in our First Volume, p. 176-8.

Frigat? What if their Ammunition & Provisions were thence delivered to them? What good did that *Frigat* do New-England? Unless this were so, that it fetch'd home the Plunder of *Casteine*, upon which began the Bloody War? or that the *Hull* lay wallowing in *Boston*-Harbour to *awe* rather than *protect* the Town, and Domineer over the honest Traders in their passage, mean while *her men* playing Reakes on shoar to the great Offence and Disturbance of the Inhabitants.

As for the peoples *Dismantling* of that *Frigat* in the time of the *Revolution*, we need use no Vindication; the proper Judges thereof have not *Condemned but Commended* what they did therein. What Religion the *Captain* professed we know not, but the *Lieutenant* had declared himself to be of King *James* his Religion; and how well they were like to protect that *Protestant* people may be easily Imagined. It is well known that the *Captain*, in his return with her for *England*, was full fraught with a Bloody Malice against that honest people, which in a time he would have shown had not a *French Bullet* by the way carried him to *his own place*; and so it becomes us to say less of him: doubtless he wants not embalming by the *Art of the Apothecary*!

Nevertheless, seeing there is a noise made of *Pirats* in this Paragraph, it obliges us (for the Vindication of *New-England*) to tell the World, that there was a crew of *Pirats* under the command of one *Pounds*,³⁴ which lay robbing Veffels

³⁴ Concerning this crew of pirates, see DRAKE'S History of Boston, p. 490, where the leader is called Thomas *Pound*. By a petition in Mass. Arch. (Inter Charter Papers, xxxv. 150) it seems that a company, headed by Eleazer Buck and Francis Johnson, went down the Bay in one of the boats belonging to the *Rose* frigate, under pretence of an expedition against the French. Here

they were joined by Hawkins's crew, and together they took a ketch then in the Bay, in which they proceeded to *Casco*. Here they captured a sloop and released the ketch, and proceeded on a piratical cruise. They were finally overtaken by the armed sloop "*Mary*" of Boston, under Capt. Samuel Pease and Lieut. Benjamin Gallop. After a severe fight, in which Pease was killed and several were wounded,

Vessels on the Coast; these were pursued by a small Vessel of Brisk *Boatswains*, who in Their Majesties Name and under Their Colours, maintained a Bloody Fight with the Rogues and took them: *One* of them was Executed, and in his last words at the Place of Execution, confessed and affirmed that the *Rose Frigate* had supplied them with their *Ammunition*. Others of the Crew broke Prison and were *Sheltered* on board of that Frigate (of which *Pounds* was one) then fallen lower down and out of Command, and a Messenger sent from the Council to demand them, could have no return but such Barbarous Incivilities as it were a shame to mention.

There was *another* Knot of Pirates under the Influence of one *Coward*,³⁵ that had lately belonged to the *same Rose Frigate*, who having stol'n a Vessel out of the Harbour were entering on the like Robberies, but were quickly reduced without Blood shed. The Government partly for that reason, and partly in regard to him as having been once in the *Kings Service*, and at the Intercession of the *Ministers*, to whom he pretended a great Repentance, Reprieved him; but now we can have several Oathes that the greatest Intimate he had in the World has acknowledged *He had a Commission*

wounded, (as appears by the surgeon's bill,) the pirates were overcome. DRAKE says that Hawkins, Pound, and eight others, were hanged on the 27th January, 1690. Their names were Thomas (?) Johnson, Eleazer Buck, John Sicklerdam, William Dun, Richard Griffin, Daniel Lander, William Warren, and Samuel Watts. Yet the last three had petitioned for mercy on the ground that they were entrapped into the enterprise, and we think it is doubtful if they were executed.

³⁵ William Coward was the leader of the second piratical enterprise. We

presume this to be the one of which DRAKE speaks, (Hist. Boston, 491,) as having taken the ketch "Ellinor." He says that four persons were executed for being concerned therein, but it is possible that they were condemned, and afterwards pardoned. In Mass. Arch. (xxxv.) is a record that in February, 1690, Peleg Heath, Christopher Knight, Dr. Thomas Storey, and William Coward, condemned previously to be hanged, were released from prison. Certainly the expression in the text would seem to show that but one man was hanged of all these pirates.

Commission from the Captain of that Frigate for those Piracies, and that (if we mistake not) they saw the Commission. And this was the Dismantled Frigate, which lay there to secure from Pirates.

Certainly if these Addressers were now in *England* they would be finely laughed at (as a crew of Silly *Jacobites*) for their notable earnings by telling such rueful Stories. Pray what have they got by provoking us to divulge those *unlucky Secrets* which might have been buried in Oblivion? Sorry souls; the more you *stir*, the more you'll *Stink*. There will be found enough in *Boston* to justify the truth of all these things, and *more* and *worse* than these, if by your unwearied Calumnies you drive them to be a little more Inquisitive after what may tend to their Righteous Vindication.

As for what they talk about the *Kings Revenue*. 'Tis possible they intended it should amount to more than what they speak of, when the *Leeches* of the *Excise* there did seek even what the Governour with four or five of his Council gave order for. But what was the *Kings benefit* by that *Revenue*? nothing at all; for themselves took the Significant *Figures* and left the *Cyphers* to the Kings share. No, it was only maintained the Lufts of a few needy craving *Cerberus's*; meanwhile the Kings Exchequer was at *Charge* to support the Government there, which it was never a farthing till the overthrow of their Charters had Erected *Horse Blocks* for those *Beggars* to mount and ride that poor people even to Death. However, since the *Abatements* of the *Excise* there are thus complained of, the Government we suppose will consider whether they can make it no further serviceable to promote Their Majesties interest in those Territories.

And

And this again forces us to mention another matter in which that people has been sadly wronged; that is, *their breaking the Acts of Navigation*. We do then Affirm that the Government there and the whole body of the people, would rejoyce in the severest Execution of *those Acts*, and lend their utmost help thereunto. There are but a few particular persons that have Transgressed in the *forbidden Trade*, and they mostly such persons too (if we are not misinform'd) as have been at the same time the greatest *Accusers* of the Country. The Country generally declare they never found any benefit by that *Smuggling*; unless it have been a benefit that *the man*, whom they alwayes accounted their most Implacable Enemy, might get a living by the *Bribes* of that *unlawful Trade*. If honest Mr. *Brenton* arrive safe to *New England*, he will doubtless be very welcome to the Government and the whole body of the people there; nor shall he give that Country greater Satisfaction than when he Cripples any of those Offenders.³⁶

The Lerry, Dinn and Vociferations, which these Addressers make here (& others of their kind else where), about the *Cruel Persecutions* which the Charter men of *New-England* have used upon *all persons Differing from them in matters of Religion only*, might better have come from any mouths in the World than theirs. (Ye *Gracchi* do you thus complain of *Sedition*? *Et Clodius accuset Mæchus*?)

We have made enquiry, and we cannot find that the *New-Englanders* ever Silenced 2500 faithful Ministers in *one Day*, because they could not comply with some things *not in* but *about* Religion, which the sufferers Judged *Sinful*, and yet the

³⁶ William Brenton was made Collector of the Port in 1690 or 1691. As to the general subject of the behavior of the colonists about smuggling, the

Agents made a detailed reply to Randolph, a copy of which is in the Mss. Archives, xxxvi, p. 97-100. We propose to print it in this volume.

the Imposers confess'd *Indifferent*. (Blush and say, *Pudet hæc opprobria*.—) We cannot learn that the *New-Englanders* for the sake of a few Uninstituted *Ceremonies* have within 25 years procured the untimely Death of 5000 *persons* and the Absolute Ruine of 60 000 *Families*, of *as good* Christians (to say *no better*) as themselves. What have they done then? Why in the infancy of the Plantation, they made some *seven Laws* against certain Seducers who by Crouding in amongst them, threatned no less than the Dissolution of their Government. The *Quakers*, against whom they were chiefly sharpened, were then a more Tumultuous and Blasphemous Generation than they seem to have been of latter dayes, and therefore *of late* none there has Troubled them. These Laws were but begun to be Executed before the *New-Englanders* grew sensible of their Errour in making them, and of themselves by dis-use they Dyed away long before their Charters were Disturbed.

The very Quakers themselves would say, that *If they had got into a corner of the world, and with an Immense charge had made a wilderness habitable, on purpose to be there undisturbed in the Exercise of their worship, they would never bear to have New-England men come amongst them and Interrupt that worship and endeavour to Seduce their Children from it; Yea, and repeat such endeavours after mild Entreaties first and then Banishments and commands to be gone.*

However, *New-England* long before the Questioning of their Charters, had come to an Intire Tolleration of the Sectaryes crept in among them, having by Experience found that their Tolleration prov'd their *Diffipation*. And when the Revolution came, the *Convention* Unanimously Voted, That *any Laws which might seem Repugnant to the Laws of England, or contrary to a due liberty of Conscience, never should be Executed in the Territory.*

And thus we have also taken off that Libellous Insinuation

tion of theirs, that *the People there have Resolved to Act by pretended Laws, wholly contrary to the Laws of the Realm of England.* Did not these Libellers know (for 'twas Printed, published & proclaimed before this their Address), That *the Convention had solemnly Renounced every Law that should be thought Repugnant to the Law of England?* We must not give *Gentlemen* the Lye: But all mankind will now give these *Addressees* the Lye, and therefore for quietness sake let them pass as *no Gentlemen.* We are now blessed with a KING who is another *David* on the throne; and as King *David* said *He that telleth Lyes shall not be Established in my fight;* so we may assure ourselves that if hereafter these people make any such Addresses to *King William*, he will His them out of his Royal presence.

They next Swagger about the *Thousands* who count themselves *Injured* and *Abused* by the present Government of *New-England.* Whereas the World knows that the present order of Government had not accepted it, if the generality of the Inhabitants there had not (as one man) sent into the *Convention* their *Representitives*, with Instructions to *demand* their entrance there upon. 'Tis true there are some dissatisfied persons who are Discharged of their former *Offices*, the reason of which the people there and their Representitives do best understand; and now they find fault with every thing that is *done*, because *they* are not the *doers.* But let them have patience till their turn comes; their good demeanour amongst their Neighbours is the properest way to Interest *them* in the Government as well as others.

As to the Clamour about *Excessive Rates and Taxes*, This truly is admirable: just now they complained that the Kings Revenue there was *low* and *lost*; now, on the sudden, 'tis grown so *high* and *hard* they can't bear it. This 'tis to make
Ropes

Ropes of Sand! But what? are these *Church of England men* more burthened than others? And upon complaint can they not get Redrefs? They *say* it not, and if they should, it would not be true. 'T is true the *Taxes* are great and so is the *Cause*. The *Wars* (who ever began them) have Occasioned all this; Those in the Government have no personal Advantage by your *Taxes*. No, yee *Boule-sense*, the *Taxes* are to save your *Lands* and *Lives* from the Common Enemies. And if these *Taxes* make the people to long for another *Sir Edmund*, we perceive they have very *Short memories*, and have quickly forgotten the Prices they must have paid him and his Agents ere they could have owned a *Foot of ground* either before or within their doors. The *Patents* of their *Lands* (as they fairly began) would have cost more than all the *Taxes* which have since the Revolution been Levied in the Territory. Be it also Remembred, that there is not a penny now Raised on them without *their own consent*, (and yet it seems not with *all their Consent*) Certainly if there be many in that Country of the same humour with these Libellers, it is well if their discontents do not at last bring them under such Masters as will not be so Complimental as to *ask* of them what they shall *take* from them.

But be it so, that the present heavy *Taxes* do cause *Murmurers* to encrease amongst them; 't is no more than we see here at home, and yet we still suppose there are more than *Twenty to One* amongst them, (whatever they talk of their *Thousands*.) who would look upon themselves *Injured & Abused*, If they should be deprived of their *Charter Government*: but however things fall, we hope they are well furnished with patience and submission to undergo greater Tryals.

That the *Murmurers* are not so many as they would bear

us

us in hand, we 'l give the Reader some Demonstration by an Instance. 'T is Reported here that *Charles-Town* is the most Ill-affected, Distracted & Divided Town in the Country; if it be so, we are sorry for their degeneracy. Now about the same time this Libell came from *Boston*, there came also an Address Inscribed, *To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, the humble Address of sundry Your Majesties Subjects Inhabitants in Charles-Town*.³⁷ These also have it seems forgotten the *Queens* Majesty. But let that pass on the same Score with the other.

This Address is an Accusation of the Country for the *Rashness* and *Inconsiderateness* committed in the *Revolution*; and after some other Scurvy flashes and Reflections, which were we at leisure to deal with they should have their due, They come at last to petition That *they might not be Estranged from the laws of England*; the meaning of all which is easy to be Interpreted: In short, they like not *Charter Government*, and let them abound in their own fence. As for the Plantations having some things *diverse* from the Laws of *England*, it is no more than all the other English Plantations in *America* may have affirmed of them. We could never learn that *New-England* varies from any Laws of *England* that would be proper, or were by the *King* and Parliament intended for such a Country. However the Address is Subscribed by *Thomas Graves*, late Judge of the County Court; *Richard Sprague*, late Captain of the Trained Band who appeared at the Head of his Company to Assist in the above mentioned *Revolution* in the day thereof; and Ten more: of which one was a *Sir Edmund's* Captain, one is in our Copy
Subscribed

³⁷ This Address is given by FROTHINGHAM (History of Charlestown, p. 230-1) from a copy in the State Records. We shall print it at the end of the present pamphlet, from his copy. The signers were Thomas Graves, Richard

Hooper, Timothy Hawkins, Samuel Whitmore, Andrew Mitchell, John Robinson, Richard Sprague, John Cutler, Jr., Jeremiah Bowers, John Jackson, William Richardson, and Thomas Weld, Jr.

Subscribed *Bowers*, without a Christian name;—and no wonder if he be a Quaker,—we suppose it is *that* Quaker who was one of *Sir Edmunds Setters*, and begged of him his *Neighbours Lands* that lay as convenient for him as *Naboths* Vine-yard did for *Ahab*, that Quaker who with a brutish Bawling used to disturb Christian Assemblies, and more particularly one just as they were entring on the Celebration of the Lords Supper. We shall not count it worth while to trouble the World with Particular Characters of the other Subscribers, most of them have on some account or other laboured under *Infamy*, and several of them are of that Congregation who owned that other Address; there, of the *Church of England*, here, *Inhabitants of Charles-Town*: wherein they discover their very good will to wound and rend that honest Country in as many Capacities as they can.

And why all *Inhabitants of Charles-Town*? are not at least Four of the 12, *Inhabitants of other Towns*? Must they Scumm *Water-Town* and *Cambridge* also to pack a *Charles-Town* Jury for condemning New-Englands Charter priviledges? This is strange, but the strangest of all is that any man of Reputation (such as Mr. *Graves* and Mr. *Sprague*) should mingle themselves in any designe, with such a Lewd, Sorry, Shabby and obscure Crew!

But leaving *Charles-Town*, let us return to the men of the *Church of England* who speak so bigg of Thousands, who account themselves *Injured* and *Abused*. Certainly if such a Town as *Charles-Town* (with all its borrowed helps) could afford no more *Maie Contents*, we must needs Imagine the whole Colony has not so many *Thousands* of that sort of people. And hence also for these to talk of a *Prevailing party* (whose Interest must be upheld by the Taxes), when 'tis in a manner the *whole people* whom they so Denominate, is as Ridiculous as if a *Thief in the Gaol* should cry out upon a *Prevailing party* in the Country who had brought him

him thither. And to charge the *whole Country* with a designe to bring *Destruction upon the whole Country*, is no less Absurd and Irrational than it is Injurious.

We had almost flipt the Notice of a *Bawl or two* these Libellers make about *Damnifying their Church* (as they call it), and Obstruſting their *Minister in his Office*. As to their *Church*, All the mischeifs done is the breaking of a few Quarels of glafs by idle Boys, who if discover'd had been chastiz'd by their own Parents; But the late School-Master of *Charles-Town* is of opinion that the *whole Country* must be *Lashed* for it. In the meantime do not these (for a few Quarels) Love to be *picking of Quarels* think ye. May it please them however to tell us *who* they were, and to what *Church* they did belong, who, (before this Terrible disaster) went over to *Charles-Town*, and did not break a few Quarels or Panes, but Riotously pull down *whole Church Windows* there? And yet the *Charles-Town* men had forgotten to Insert it in their Address.³⁸

But

³⁸The Episcopalian, however, alleged other attacks upon their building, as appears by the following evidence.

In the "Answer to Mather's Discourse against Common Prayer Worship," a pamphlet cited by us in our First Volume, p. 180, are the following items.

Preface: "Indeed, he (Mather) had dealt more sincerely, if he had acquainted his Reader, That they hold it unlawful to communicate with us, because we are a National Church; and that they don't joyn in the Common-Prayer Worship, because it's a Form, and all Forms are in his Opinion unlawful. This indeed had struck at the Root of all; but this he knew was not so easily prov'd, nor would look so popularly, as to cry out *Heathenism, Judaism* and *Popery*, which he charges our *Service Book* with. This indeed will rouse the

Multitudes; and it's no wonder, when possess'd with this Representation of our Worship, that the deluded People broke into the Church (erected at Boston for the Worship of God, according to the Church of England) to search for the Images they supposed we worship'd."

In Mather's Reply to this book, he says, p. 2: "The *Answerer* in his *Preface* tells the world a ridiculous Story, *That deluded People broke into the Church Erected in Boston, for Worship according to the Church of England, to search for the Images which they supposed Church of England Men Worshiped*. He that begins with such a Falshood as this, tis easy to guess what Truth he is like to Furnish us with."

It is perhaps worthy of notice that Mather does not deny the charge, and we may suspect it had a basis of fact.

But to give a fuller account of this *Tragical tale* thus carried to *White-Hall*.

They have built their Chapel in a Publick burying-place, next adjoining to a great *Free Schooll*, where the Boyes (having gotten to play) may some by *Accident*, some in *Frolick*, and some perhaps in *Revenge* for disturbing their Relations Graves by the Foundation of that building, have broken a few Quarels of the Windows; (and how should the contrary be imagined possible!). Other Meeting-Houses in the Town, neer which the Children use to play, we suppose are at more than twice the charge yearly for Repairing their Windows; nor ever yet have any one of those unruly Children been discovered or complained of. Would not these people deserve here to be called Old Boyes, for so highly resenting Boyes-Play? What? must not a Boy in *New-England* throw a stone or a Ball amiss, but the *King* shall hear of it? To a *Domitian* (who counted *Fly-Catching* not below him) this might have been a proper Address: But for the Impertinences to be laid before the High and Mighty *WILLIAM*, the Greatest Prince now in *Europe*, whose thoughts and cares are all Employ'd upon such things as are like his Royal Self, *Considerable*; we say again there was doubtless a *mistake in the delivery*. Ridiculous People! come let's play the fool with you a little, (which we can scarce do without Apology!).

Suppose we now His Majesty in Council, (and long may we have *that* happiness to glory in); there he is Exactly considering the several profound Methods that must be taken to unite *England*, Settle *Scotland*, Reduce *Ireland*, preserve *Holland*, Assist *Savoy*, defend *Spain*, content *Sweden & Denmark*, rescue the *Empire*, and subdue *France*, (now in the high Ruff) and so to render all *Europe* quiet and happy. When suddenly His Majesty is told there is a matter of

greater

greater Importance than all these, that calls for His Majesties most weighty and Royall consideration; for that some of his Loyal Subjects are come 1000 Leagues about their business, and that they have brought an Address,—which may be this.

‘ May it please Your Majesty,

‘ We, Your Majesties most Loyal Subjects, knowing well
‘ that You are managing glorious undertakings against the
‘ Enemies of the English *Nation* in General, and of the
‘ Church of England in particular, thought it needful to
‘ Represent to Your Majesty; that there is a number of
‘ *Boston Boyes* who having got loose from the *Tyranny* of
‘ their School, have *Routously, Riotously, and with force of*
‘ *Armes* (that is to say) with *Balls and Stones*, Violently
‘ Assaulted our Church Windows to our unaccountable
‘ damage, and to the *Terroure of Your Majesties Leige*
‘ *People*; We therefore implore Your Majesties utmost Assis-
‘ tance against these Unlucky Boyes.’

Moreover, as they inform His Majesty that some *Boyes* have Assaulted their *Church*, so some *Men* they say have hindred and *Obstructed* their Parson in *Discharging of his Duty and Office*. For at the Funeral of one Mr. *Lilly*³⁹ (who never

³⁹ In the recent volume of “Mather Papers,” p. 370-1, we have probably the authority on which Mather makes this charge, in a letter to him from Rev. Joshua Moody, dated 8th of 11th mo. 1688 (Feb. 8th, 1688-9). The passage is as follows:

“I hinted to Capt. Sewall the story about Deacon Fraery covented and bound over with sureties for forbidding Ratliff to read Common Prayer at the grave of old Lilly. The relations desired Capt. Frary to speake, and had requested the parson to forbear before

hand, when at the House. But he went on, and being hindered complained to Justice Lidget, Foxcroft, and Bullivant, who so treated Mr. Fraery. Now when the deceased did not desire it and left the buriall to the Executors and they forbade it, meethinks it should not bee imposed, and what a case are wee all in. King, the Attourney, faith it will cost him 100 mark, and that hee is bound to doe his duty (I mean Ratliff is) and the King’s Proclamation will not relieve him. Captain Frary is bound to the good Behaviour, and wilbe so for a 12month,

never signified to any of his Friends his desire to have the Service Book used at his Burial) their Officer would needs (for their Edification) impose it upon them; the Relations 'tis true, before hand Unanimously informed him that it would be very Offensive to them to be so Imposed upon therein; yet such was his *Zeal*, that he came with *Gown and Book*, to settle a Laudable custom in that Barbarous Country. One Mr. *Frayray* (a Relation of the Deceased, in the name of the rest) only with fitt words desired him to for-bare, but he was bound over to the Court, where they intended to have Ruined him, had not the Unlucky *Revolution* subverted these designs; and therefore they thought fitt here to mention it as some of the *Effects* of that wicked Revolution; for though that thing was done before, yet the prosecution of *this* (and divers others of the like nature) was not ended till that Unhappy day.

And that there is something *Serious* in this Merriment, be pleased to consider the next Paragraph of their Address, in which there is somewhat Notoriously false, and something wherein you may believe them. The *Falschhood* is in their pretences to *Abundant Joy and Satisfaction* when they received the *Joyful News of His Majesties great and glorious Enterprize*. If this be true, our Dictionaries have all this while deceived us; what we have heretofore called *Wrath* and *Consternation*, you must now by *Antiphrasis*, Interpret *Joy* and *Satisfaction*. When you see men *Storming & Raging*, and Expressing themselves in such Diabolical Terms (the Subscribers of the Address may know whom we mean!) as, that *they hope such a Prince is hanged by this time,*
and

12month. (A fearfull reproach and snare.) What does the proclamation for liberty of Conscience doe, if such impositions are allowed! This is a very tremendous thing to us. And the shut-

ting up shops on Christmas Day, and driving the Master out of the school on Christmas Holydaies are very grievous." Samuel Lilly was of Boston, 1686.

and all such Rogues with him; you must take this to signify *Abundant Joy and Satisfaction*, or else you'll be obliged to call some folks most *Egregious Lyers*.

The *Subscribers* of this Libell will find those in *Boston* who will doubtless Rubb up their Memories upon these particulars, and remind them of *Time* and *Place* and after what manner their *Joy and Satisfaction* Vented it self. We will not here Rip up their usuall talk upon the *Exchange* and elsewhere, but certainly 't will vex Mr. *Foxcroft* (one of the Subscribers and a Representative of his Church) to be Reminded that when one Mr. *Winslow* brought thither the (then) *Princes Declaration*, (which he knew would be welcome to all true *New-Englanders*) this *Foxcroft* was one of the Three Justices who sent the above said Mr. *Winslow* to Prison, for bringing a *Traiterous & Treasonable Libell* (as the *Mittimus* Expressed it) into the Country. And altho' he offered them 2000 *Pound Security*, yet nothing would do, but to Goal he must. It was (we suppose) from the like *Abundant Joy and Satisfaction* that these pretended Church men in *Boston* (when they posselt the Government) sent forth a *Proclamation*, charging all Officers and people to be in readines to hinder the Landing of any Forces that the *Prince of Orange* might send into those parts of the World. Certainly we must hereafter take heed of wishing Joy and Satisfaction to our Friends and Neighbours; nay, to these their very Enemies, it would be very Uncharitable in the *New-Englanders* to wish their belly-full of such *Joy and Satisfaction* as they enjoyed upon the News of the Kings descent into *England*. In this therefore they are Notoriously false, as was most Visible to the World.

But there is something wherein you may believe them, namely, their Transport that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to have *particular regard to the Religion of the Church*

Church of England. Doubtless *that* is true. They had got news of a Distinction in *England*, of a King *De jure* and *De facto*; and they cared not a Straw which Sank or Swam, provided the most potent would be their upholder.

O this sweet "*Particular Regard*"! 'tis Sugar to the Vinegar; *that* helps them to Swallow and digest many things that else would shrewdly rise against their Stomacks. They say this Joyous *Particular Regard* to the *Religion* of the Church of England is that which Revives them at a Strange Rate. But yet here our credence must Hault a little; for certainly if the Religion were so dear unto them, one of these Subscribers would never have declared to his Friend, that *were their Church but a Mile from Boston* (so as he might have a fair pretence for absence) *he would never come at it.* It is *Religion*? Hear what some of their principal persons have said upon their Death beds (in the hearing of more than one or two) with great bitterness of Soul, that *there is not one amongst them that a body may Reasonably think to have the fear of God in him.* A more Uncharitable Censure than ever their N. C. Neighbours yet passed upon them! And are these the *fruits of Religion and Loyalty* to be Expected from such a branch? Surely they are such *Harsh fruits* of which we have had a Taste, and may still be seen in the *Faction* there, who wear the Name of the *Church of England*, that there is no great fear of many *New-Englanders* to be *united to their Assembly.* Alas, poor souls, many of them upon the Rising *Light* of Sir *Edmunds* glory did in a Huff run thereunto; and now upon his Setting they are left in the Dark how to get fairly off without damage to their Reputation. But *Nunquam fera est &c.* Ask your *M. A.* the meaning of it. We think therefore 'twas something else than *Religion* that was Aimed at, and which perhaps we may find pointed to in the next particular:

Which

Which is :—

A grave advice they give the King, *That the Country may be Ruled by a Governour and Council to be appointed by His Majesty.* Ay, take heed of the peoples *Election*, for then these Advisers may miss it; and then the Country will be still in a bad case, and may suffer Ship-wrack if the Two only Church-Wardens of the Country have not their hand at Helm. But they go on “*And with the Advice of an Assembly of the people in matters proper for Cognizance.*” Advice by all means, but no *Authority*; and what are the *matters proper* for their *Cognizance*? Perhaps these blades (if any of them can make an Interest to get into the *Appointed Council*) will tell you, 'tis only to see *how much* Money is to go from them, but not *whither* it goes; they shall do but what the *Select* men do in making Rates; let them but bring their Flices to be shorn, and they have done all their business as well as any *Parliament in France*.

Their new *Scheams and Representations of Government & Jurisdiction* (as their *Charles-Town* Friends express it) must be just as “*other Your Majesties Plantations are Ruled and Governed.*” But what if their cases vastly differ? what if the peoples maine design in divers other Plantations be only to raise Estates to be Transmitted to *England* where the chief Planters or Traders Intend at least to settle their Families? No wonder therefore they are not so much concerned to fix orderly *Town-Ships* and *Churches*, Erect Schools and Colledges, and such other things as relate to posterity: You know (Mr. *Rombus*) *Agricolæ & Pastoris contrarium est propositum.* And why as *other Plantations*? Is there amongst them more Exact *Justice* and better Order kept in respect to *Moralls*? As to *Religion* and the Profession thereof, doth it Flourish more elsewhere? Are *Sabbaths* better Sanctified? Are there more, and more able, Pious, Painful *Preachers* of
the

the Gospel in the *other Plantations* than in *New-England*? And has their different kind of Government had its special Influence upon these matters? There are some in the World (as wise as these worshipfull *Advisers*) who think there was not a spot upon the face of Gods Earth (all circumstances considered and humane Infirmities abated) was better settled for the time and better ordered than *New-England*, when they did freely enjoy their *Charter Powers* and *Priviledges* without Interruption. But if indeed these *Advisers* (being mostly Strangers for their profit lately crept in amongst the *New-Englanders*) are so fond of *other Plantations Government*, they may (in our opinion) do far better to remove themselves whither and settle where they do best like, than abide to be Thorns in the sides of their quiet Neighbours, who have no great Obligation much to desire their Company.

But how come it to pass that these *Addresseors* or *Advisers* so horribly forgate themselves as to begin with Commending *A well Established and orderly Government*, in which there was not Admitted such an *Advising Assembly of the people*; and now in the close they are for a Government of as quite another nature as *Englands* is to that of *France*. Possibly they began at *Evening*, and after a while they plaid a game or two at Cards, Drank a few Healths, and then went to Sleep; next *Morning* their last Dreams suggested to them what they had been about over night; there (after a mornings Draught) they are *at it again*, and now being a little Wiser, they stumble upon another Model never minding what they had writt before.

Reader, You may Remember (tho' *they* did not) that their *Well Established Government* made *Laws*, Raised *Taxes*, Levied *Armies* or any thing else, (*quelque chose*) without the
least

least *Advice of any Assembly of the people*. But what have we here? It seems now they would have the King set up for them, an *Ill Established and Disorderly Government* (for of Contrarys is the Contrary Reason) which if He do, would not the King put them into the same *Horror and Amazement* they were in at the late Revolution? However (in a complement) they say *they* desire *He should*; and (in Reality) *we* hope that *He will*.

But be Their Majesties pleasure concerning *New-England* what it will, we are well assured they will approve themselves a Loyall, Quiet and Virtuous people; they are none of those *Beasts* or *Birds*, who if the King do but Muzzel their Chaps or Pare their Claws will presently *Curse him to his Face*. *Such* there are in the world, and for a small matter we could Inform the Reader whither he might go (and that *not far*) to see some of their *Names*. *New-Englanders* are of another Kidney, and it is no small Demonstration of the goodness of that people, that tho' they are thus persecuted by a petty Crew (who bear not the proportion of *One* to *Seven Hundred* either in Number or Figure amongst them) yet we are well assured they will take no further notice of all, than to pray that God would pitty, pardon and convert such befotted Adversaries. "*God forgive them, they know not what they doe.*" However, it must needs fill that people with Sorrowful thoughts, if they should see his Majesty (which God forbid!) take only such Methods for their Settlements as are wished by a little Knot of their most Implacable Enemies: with God and the King they entirely leave their Affaires and with composed minds wait for a blessed Issue.

Being now glutted with the *Joy & Satisfaction* wherewith this *Libel* has hitherto entertained us: We willingly pass over some other observables therein and come to the Close of all.

'T is

'T is a passage in Sacred Scriptures, *The Prophet that Teacheth Lyes he is the Tail*. It is but an Agreeable thing to find in the Tail of this *Dragon* (for it all along *speaks like a Dragon*) a *Parson* (or a *Piece of one*) *Subscribing to Lyes*. This Youth is an Unfledged Bird who thus defiles the Nest in which he was Hatcht. What think you? Had this Yonker been *Long Exercised under the most Extravagant and Arbitrary Government*, and so had he such Lamentable cause to complain? 'T is but Yesterday that his *M. A.* had Recommended him to the School of a Neighbour Town⁴⁰ for which he was pretty well Qualified; (for he writt a good hand & made good penns, and was able to Construe a sentence in *Corderius*). We most readily own a good School Master to be one of the most Honourable and Valuable sights in a Country, and with *New-England* fuller of them. But if any of them after a while Swaggering amongst Boys comes out into the World, and will be Domineering amongst men and prescribing them *Scheams and Representations of Government*, and take up and *Lash* whole Countrys, bring that Lads Fingers to the *Ferula* and let the calling go free.

As for the other Subscribers, if they hope to see *Altars* in their Church and *Candles* set upon them, 'tis no wonder a Shrine-maker doth plead for his *Diana*.

After these Leaders follow the whole band: At whose *Desire*, and in whose *Name* (as well as their own) these Subscribers are said to have Spit all this Venome at poor honest *New-England*. But certainly (to forbear that which we have newly called *An Uncharitable Censure*) if those in whose *Name* this Address comes do not manifest a sense of their having done much amiss, they will not shew themselves to be

⁴⁰ This is of course Samuel Myles. From a remark on p. 63, it would seem that he was the school-master at Charlestown.

be so much Influenc'd by the *fear of God* as good men use to be; if they do not, they may assure themselves that they have given a fatall wound to their own Society amongst the people of *New-England*; no man of so much as common Sobriety will after this Joyn himself to a Society of men that shall Impenitently commit such things as [those] of which *those people* are now Convicted: nothing but a Candid Repentance can preserve them from being perpetually Odious to that Country where they have began to *Hive* themselves. "*Faciunt favos et Vespæ.*"

The good people of *New-England* want not a kindness for the *Church of England*, tho' they cannot be satisfied with these pretenders thereunto; they Believe there are Thousands in that Communion with whom they Expect Eternal happiness in the same Heaven. Such Renowned Names as those of *Burnet, Tillotson, &c* are as precious and as Valued amongst the people of *New-England*, and their *Books* as much Read and Lov'd and Liv'd, as with any here at home. All the hurt they wish to the *Church of England* is to see it *Reform'd* in some things which the *Reformed Churches abroad* do account none of its *Beauties*; but these *New-England Episcopalians* are utterly a discredit to the whole Body whereof they pretend themselves to be the Members.

We are very well Satisfyed the *present Government of New-England* Intend not to molest these odd people for any of these Extravagant matters; but if *Strangers* may *Advise* the said *Government* (and why may *we* not as well as *these* people presume to *Advise* their King?) we would then Council them to be no ways Discouraged from the Service of Their Majesties. Certainly if any of the *Tory-masquerade Jacobites* (who endeavour to Enfeeble them and Weaken their hands) shall cause them to forbear any thing that must be done

done to maintain Government, Vertue, Order, and Peace, in that Country, they will not find Their Majesties to Thank them for it. Their Majesties own them for a *Government*; their *Charter* is as much Restored as any of the Kingdom of *England* (Except that of *London*.) All the World will wonder at them if they do not use it, since it is all the Government they have, untill Their Majesties shall please to give them further Order. If any of the other Corporations here in *England* should hear that the *New-Englanders* refused to act upon their (lately Incommoded) Charters, they would Hiss at them as the *Common Enemies of the English Nation*. Should the Freemen here forbear their *Elections*, or the *Tories* here tell them they might not go on in all things as they were, they would be the Ridicule of the whole World. For any to declare for the late *Commission Government* (being so directly against the *Native Priviledges* of English men) is a sort of *Treason*; and it tends to Alienate the minds of Their Majesties Subjects from their Subjection to the Crown of *England*. It is little less *Treasonable* to say that their Majesties have left that Country *without Government*, for that would be to say (what *New-England* abhors) that they might dispose of themselves to any Prince or Potentate in the Earth (by a *clientelary* Subjection) for their own Security, according to the Rule of the Civil Law "*Servus Desertus a Domine Liber esto.*"

They have therefore a Government for and under Their Majesties: and what is it? Unless it be their *Charter*, which their Majesties do Invite them to Act upon, and Expect they should as the rest of the Nation do, till they are farther Settled. Let *the People* therefore (if they know and have sense to perceive their own Interest) proceed in their free Elections of honest men and such as they can trust, to take care of the whole; and the *Magistrates* (so elected) act vigorously according to *Law*, till a full Settlement shall come to
them,

are no parts of the Empire of England, but like Wales & Ireland, which were Conquered, and belong to the Dominion of the Crown of England, and that therefore he that wears the Crown may set up Governments over them, which are Despotick and Absolute, without any regard to (the English mans) *Magna Charta*. And where as in Barbadoos, Jamaica, Virginea &c, They have their Assemblies, that is only from the favour of the Prince & not that they could pretend any Right to such Priviledges of English-men."

You see (poor *New-Englanders*) whither this *Quondam* Judge amongst you, and the rest of his Crew, were bringing you. It is upon this principle that *New-England* has been Torn in pieces by Salvage Oppressors. It is upon this same principle that they have been Railed at for a *Rebellion like the Sin of witch-craft*, for Dismounting those Rank Riders who Spurr'd them on to their own Destruction. But certainly the man that Publishes this principle never more Intends to Visit the *English Plantations in America*, having thus foolishly and wickedly Exposed himself to the Just Indignation of them all; how can they treat him otherwise than as a *Common Enemy* that shall thus openly deny them the precious *English Liberties*? No Englishmen in their Wits will ever Venture their Lives and Estates to Enlarge the Kings Dominions abroad, and Enrich the whole English Nation, if their Reward after all must be to be deprived of their *English Liberties*. And pray let all the *English American* Plantations now take notice, That the *New-Englanders* in their late Revolution did but act in a *Quarrel* wherein *they* and *all English-men* had an Interest. Gentlemen, *you* that so much Love to hear *New-England* Reproach'd, it was for *you* as well as for *themselves* that the *New-Englanders* acted in their Revolution.

Moreover, will not the Curse of *St. David* and *St. Patrick* fall

fall upon the Head of this man for making the *Welsh* and *Irish* such a Conquered people, as that the *Welsh* (since their Incorporation) have but a precarious claime for their Representatives to fitt in the *English Parliament*, and the *Irish* (or rather the *English* in that Kingdom) are but meer *Slaves & Villains* for all their *Parliament at Dublin*. As for the Colonys of *New-England* in particular, If they be not Esteemed as *parts of England*, why were *Quo Warranto's* Issued out against the Government in *Boston* as belonging to *Westminster in Middlesex*, and their Tenures settled in free Soccage as of the Manour of *East Greenwich* (as we think it is mentioned in their Charter.)? Were those ever a *Conquer'd people* like the *Welsh* and the *Irish*? No, they have conquered many Enemies of the English Crown, but were never yet conquered; Unless that must be called a Conquest when their late Oppressors (before mentioned) had them in their Clutches.

We shall conclude this matter with a memorable passage of that Accomplished Gentleman, Sir *William Jones*, who was Attorney General in the Reign of K. Charles the Second, and knew as much of the Law as any *Palmer* or *Bulkley* of them all. This excellent Person (when it was proposed by some that the Plantations might be governed without an Assembly) told the King that he could no more grant a Commission to leavy money on his Subjects there without their consent by an Assembly, than they could discharge themselves from their allegiance to the English Crown.

And now we hope the People of *New-England* will not suffer themselves to be any more deluded by the common Adversaries of all the English Nation in any part of the world, but will approve themselves a People at once both sincerely Loyal to Their Majesties (whom God grant long to
Reign),

Reign), and withall Faithfull to true English Liberties, whatever base Parasites and Sycophants shall at any time Prate or Act unto the Contrary.

FINIS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

FOR *this Composure the Reader is beholden to the Pen of one, who altho' he never spent 7 years of his Life in any part of America, yet has been so inquisitive after the Affairs of New-England, and had so much acquaintance with the worthy Agents of that Country, that he has been able thus to write in the Vindication of a People so Injuriously abused as that people have been. Let that People be thankful that when so Natives amongst themselves are playing the Viper upon them, God stirs up such as were not born within a thousand Leagues of [them] to be their Advocates.*





PETITION
OF THE
INHABITANTS OF CHARLESTOWN.
1689.

[Reprinted from FROTHINGHAM's History of Charlestown.⁴¹]

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

*The humble Address of sundry Your Majesty's subjects
inhabitants in Charlestown.*



WE, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, being deeply sensible of the admirable blessings, by the Almighty's providence, bestowed on your Majesty and all your subjects, in making your Majesty the true defender and maintainer of the Protestant Religion and the Laws and liberties of the English nation, and placing you upon the throne of these kingdoms, do return our hearty and unfeigned thanks to God for his great goodness therein. And in all humility offer to your Majesty our duty and allegiance with our continued prayers for your Majesty's long, happy and prosperous reign over us. That as the sun gives heat and warmth to the utmost parts of the earth, so we may be influenced and cherished by your Majesty's grace and favor, and be made partakers of those common

⁴¹ In the copy the spelling has been modernized.

common benefits which your Majesty's great clemency and goodness distributed to all your subjects.

We cannot but truly lament the great disorder and confusion these parts are brought into by the rash and inconsiderate actions and designs of a disaffected prevailing party amongst us, who upon strange and groundless pretences, did in the month of April seize and imprison the person of the Governor, several Members of the Council, the Judges, justices and several other principal officers and ministers, and take into their possession and command your Majesty's several forts and garrisons, disband your forces, and thereby wholly subvert and overthrow the government established by your Majesty's predecessor, discharging and hindering all other officers from the further observance and executing of their respective offices, and setting up and placing instead thereof several sceaimes and representations of government and jurisdiction as uneasy and unsafe for your Majesty's subjects as unwarrantable for them to act. Whereby not only some of us but many other your Majesty's good subjects are brought under great hardships and inconveniences for maintaining and asserting your Majesty's right and sovereignty here (which by many is too much disregarded) and refusing to comply with their exorbitant, irregular and arbitrary actions and proceedings. Having hearts full of duty and loyalty to your Majesty, we chose rather to continue faithful under our sufferings though to our considerable damage, besides the great loss and spoil and inconveniences that this whole country in general hath already sustained and is likely to sustain thereby, the particulars whereof are too tedious here to relate.

And as we are fully satisfied we can have no redress or relief herein under God, but from your Majesty's abundant goodness and compassion, which in all dutifulness we humbly implore may be extended toward us. And that your Majesty
would

would be graciously pleased to afford your favor and protection to your Protestant subjects here, in settling such form and method of government over them as in your great wisdom shall be thought most proper and agreeable for your Majesty's service, and the good and welfare of your subjects, that they may not be wholly estranged from and denied the benefit of the laws of England. And that all persons holding the fundamentals of faith and order may be amicably treated and according to the rules of Christian charity. The which alone can heal our breaches and compose our disorders, and save us and others your Majesty's subjects from being a prey to our French and Indian enemies, who in the present posture of affairs have too great advantages against us.

We humbly beg your Majesty's gracious acceptance of this our Address, being from persons wholly devoted to your Majesty's service in all duty and obedience. And who account it their greatest happiness to be esteemed really they are,

Your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects,

THOMAS GRAVES,
RICHARD HOOPER,
TIMOTHY HAWKINS,
SAMUEL WHITMORE,
ANDREW MITCHELL,
JOHN ROBINSON,

RICHARD SPRAGUE,
JOHN CUTLER, JR.
[JERAHMEEL] BOWERS,
JOHN JACKSON,
WILLIAM RICHARDSON,
THOMAS [WELD,] JR.





⁴² NOTE.—Of the signers to this "Petition of the Inhabitants of Charlestown," Graves, Sprague and Cutler were well-known opponents of the Charter Government, and resided at Charlestown, as did Andrew Mitchell, Jerahmeel Bowers, and probably William Richardson. Four of the twelve, it is said, were non-residents, and we may identify Richard Hooper, of Watertown, Timothy Hawkins, of Watertown, John Jackson, of Cambridge. Thomas Weld, jr., John Robinson and Samuel Whitmore are the remaining names, and probably Robinson was of Charlestown. If Weld were the minister of Dunstable, he would be the remaining stranger, and Samuel *Whitmore* would be an error for Whittemore. There was a Samuel *Whittemore* then living in Charlestown, and Samuel *Whitmore* (son of Francis Whitmore, of Cambridge) was living at Cambridge Farms, now Lexington. The probability is that Whittemore was meant, though on our records the distinction between these two names and families is usually carefully preserved.



THE
PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO ELECTION
Or *ALTERATION* of *GOVERNMENT* in *Connetticott*,
ARGUED IN A LETTER.

BY GERSHOM BULKELEY, ESQ.

PHILADELPHIA, printed by Assigns of William Bradford, 1689.

43 PREFATORY NOTE.



ALTHOUGH this pamphlet has been reprinted as recently as 1860, in the First Volume of the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, it has seemed proper to include it in the Andros Tracts, since it is one of the few publications made by the losing party. This tract has also the farther interest to us of being the work of the man who aided Palmer in his Account, and who undoubtedly attended to the printing and distribution of the first edition of that book. TRUMBULL (Col. Rec. Conn. iii. 388,) says of the author, "The Rev. Gerthom Bulkeley of Wethersfield had few superiors in the colony in natural ability, professional learning, or general scholarship. He was a son of Rev. Peter Bulkeley of Concord, born Dec. 26, 1635; grad. H. C. 1655; preached at New-London, 1661-6; settled at Wethersfield, 1666, and withdrew from the work of the ministry in 1677 and devoted himself to the practice of medicine and surgery, in which he had already acquired a distinguished reputation. Overweening self-importance, obstinate adherence to his own opinions or prejudices, a litigious spirit and the peculiarities of his political creed, detracted from his usefulness, and kept him almost continually at strife with his parish, his neighbours or the government of the colony." His chief work seems to have been the "Will and Doom," in commendation of Andros's government. This was never published, but the Connecticut Historical Society possesses a manuscript copy of the original manuscript now in the State Paper Office in London. Bulkeley married Sarah, daughter of Rev. Charles Chauncy, President of Harvard College, by whom he had three sons and two daughters. He died 2 Dec. 1713.

The PEOPLE's
RIGHT TO ELECTION
Or *ALTERATION* of *GOVERNMENT* in *Connecticott*,
A R G U E D

In a LETTER;

By *Geshom Bulkeley* Esq; one of their Majesties Justices of the peace
In the County of *Hartford*.

Together with a Letter to the said *Bulkeley*,
from a Friend of his in the B A Y.

To which is added, The *Writing* delivered to *James Russell* of *Charlestown*
Esq; warning him and others concerned, not to meet to Hold a Court
at *Cambridge*, within the county of *Middlesex*.

By *Thomas Greaves* Esq; Judge of their Majesties Inferior Court of Pleas
and one of their Majesties Justices of the peace within the said County.

And also his ANSWER to Mr. *Broadstreete* and the Gentlemen mett at the
Town-House in *Boston* concerning the same.

*Published for the Information & Satisfaction of their Majesties loyall
(but abused) Subjects in NEW-ENGLAND.*

Philadelphia, Printed by Assignes of *William Bradford*, Anno 1689.

TO⁴⁴ the honourable Robert Treat Esq; and to the Worshipfull James
Bishop, William Jones & James Fitch and other the Worshipful
Justices of the severall Counties: and any other whom it may
concern, assembling at *Hartford*: To advise concerning Holding a Court
of Election by Virtue of and according to the late Patent.

Sirs. **I** Am at this time (by reason of bodily Infirmary)
unable to wait upon you in a fuitable manner, or
to maintain discourse as this Occasion may require, or indeed
to

⁴⁴ We give a fac-simile of the initial letter already mentioned as distinctive of
Bradford's type.

to write much, yet (confidering the Exigency of the case) I will do what I can, & apply myfelfe to you as followeth.

And to prevent all prejudice againft what I have to fay, I fhall premife thus much, *Viz.* That tho' I was no free-man of the Colony, yet I never was, nor am an Enemy to our ancient Charter-priviledges, and could they now be regularly Recovered, I fhould rejoice in it, and if I knew any thing whereby to juftify the prefent proceeding, I fhould not conceal it; but we muft not do evill that good may come of it.

I am not at all ambitious of keeping my place, it is a Burthen and no Benefit to me; an orderly difcharge will be very welcome, and the fooner the better; if I could abfolve myfelf from my oath, it had not been to do now; fo that I am under no Temptation on thefe accounts. 'Tis onely the Truft repofed in me, and my reall defire of the Common good which puts me on, very well knowing, that nothing but ill Will is like to be my reward.

Further, I am fenfible of mine inability to wade in thofe great Affaires, and would not abound in my own fence, nor in any fort take upon nor go about to teach thofe of whom I had need to learne; yet, *Plus vident oculi quam oculus.* Many eyes fee more than one: and a weak eye may chance to fee that which a better over-looks. And I having with others (tho much againft my own Inclination) received his Majefties Commiffion as a Juftice of the Peace for the County of *Hartford*, and having at that time taken the Oaths of Supremacy and Obedience, as alfo that of a juftice, for keeping of the Law, the Confervation of the Peace, and the quiet and good Government of the people, it did concern me to Confider the Duty by thefe means fo ftrongly bound upon me, and accordingly I have fince that time done my poor endeavour to inform my felf in the Laws, that I might difcern between Right and Wrong for the good of the people.

Therefore,

Therefore, in fence of my duty to God, the King, your selves, and all his Majesties good people here, (for I am debtor to you all, and am embarqued in the same Bottom with you; and do account it my Duty to seek the peace of the place where I live) therefore (I say) I shall not (and I think, I ought not) be wholly silent at this time, but according to that little which I have learned and observed, I shall modestly, and yet freely and plainly, offer a few Considerations to you which respect the present Affaire, desiring you neither to accept nor reject what I say, because it comes from me, but according to its own merit; for the matter in hand seems to me to be of very great Weight, and I beseech you to consider and ponder it thoroughly before you engage in it, forasmuch as an Irregularity in this Proceeding, may be the beginning of great Calamity and Woe to this people.

The present Motion seems to me to be not only illegall, needless & unprofitable, but indeed very criminal dangerous and hurtful to us, and that upon these Considerations.

First, Before you can Regularly (or by Virtue of and according to your late Patent) hold a Court of Election, you must be first Restored to your former politick Capacity, whereby you were under the Name of His Majesties Governour and Company of the English Colony of *Connecticott*, Persons able & capable in the Law to plead and be impleaded &c; and to Have, Take, Require and possesse Lands and other Hereditaments &c. of which, that Priviledge of *Government* was a principall one given by your Patent.

For I reason thus, If you do now assume the Government, and proceed to Election, you do it either in a private and personal Capacity, or in a publick and politik Capacity, I suppose you do not pretend to the First, for that is not to do it according to your patent, and besides it is criminall.

For Subjects in *private* Capacity to take upon them to set up & exercise Government as they see cause, is direct *Rebellion*

bellion & Treason. Therefore you must do it in a publick and politick Capacity, but this you cannot do till you are restored to such a Capacity, in which indeed you once were, but now are not: which I thus prove from the Patent it self.

Our late Sovereign King *Charles* the Second, did in the year 1662, by his Letters Patents for himself, his Heires and Successours, Ordaine & Constitue the therein named Patentees, & the then present & future Freeman, &c. One Body politick and Corporate in fact and Name, by the name of, *His Governour and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New-England in America*; and that by the same Name they and their Successours shall and may have perpetuall Succession, and shall & may be persons able & capable in the law to plead & be impleaded, to Answer & be Answered unto, to defend & be defended in all Suits, Causes, Quarrels, Matters, Actions and things of what kind and nature soever. And also to Have, Take, Possesse, Acquire and Purchase Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments &c. This is the expresse Letter of that Clause of the Patent, whereby you were constituted one body politick and Corporate, able and capable in the Law as aforesaid; and whereby also, you were by the name of Governour and Company to have perpetuall Succession, or to be perpetuated by annuall Election, at least, as the Patent afterwards shews, and upon this Clause do all priviledges afterwards granted depend.

But now you are not such a Body politick and Corporate capable in Law as aforesaid, for you know, that by the late Transaction between his Majesty and his then Governour and Company of the late Colony of *Connecticut*, the Government is changed and taken into his Majesties hands, and the late Colony of *Connecticot* annexed to the Bay, the Governour and one of the Assistants made and sworn Councillours and Judges under this new Government, the late Deputy-Governour and the rest of the Assistants, made and sworn

Justices

Justices in the severall Counties under the same new Government, and this a year and a half ago: How legall these proceedings were we need not now dispute; but this it is in fact: Hence there is no such thing in fact and name as the Governour and Company of the Colony of *Connecticut*. And hence the Corporation is dissolved and made incapable in the law to plead and be impleaded &c. or to have and take or possesse any Hereditaments, and consequently incapable to Take, Erect and Exercise Government. For neither the Governour alone, nor the Company alone is the Corporation, nor capable to plead or be impleaded as such, but the Governour and Company together. If they Claime or Take, they must Claime or Take together, if they Sue, they must Sue together, and if they be sued, they must be sued together and not apart. Besides, by the meanes aforesaid the Succession is interrupted and broken off, for by the same name of the Governour and Company of &c. you were to have perpetuall Succession, and that Succession to be perpetuated by annuall Election of the Governour, Deputy-Governour, &c. which hath not been. Therefore in your present state you are not Successors of the former Corporation; and consequently cannot take the priviledges untill restored to your former politick Capacity: and (to add that) you cannot restore your selves to it, for that is inconsistent with your Subjection to the Supream power.

By all this it doth appeare, That as there is no Governour or Deputy-Governour to give Order for the Affembling of the Company, (without which their Affembling for such an end is unlawful) so there are no Freemen capable of choosng or of being chosen; for if there be not a Corporation capable, there cannot be capable Freemen of that Corporation: And if in this state you proceed to Election, there is no Freeholder or free Subject of *England*, belonging to this Late Colony, but hath as good a Right, & is as capable of

Choosng

Choosing as any of you, because there is nothing to hinder it, and this the people see. Also there are now no Assistants enabled by lawfull Authority (without which none may do it) to take the Oath of the Governour or Deputy-Governour when Chosen; all which things the Patent doth expressly require.

All this seems necessarily to follow from the very words of the Patent, and how it can be avoided I cannot see: but that I may not seem to vent my own Notions onely, I shall briefly give the words of Sir *Edward Coke* as found a Lawyer and as great a friend to the *English* Subjects Libertyes as ever *England* knew, *In the Case* (saith he) *of Mayor & Commonality* (which is the same in effect as Governour and Company) *Where there is no Mayor the Commonality cannot make claim; because they have neither ability nor Capacity to take or sue any Action.* [*Coke upon Lit.* pag. 263.] so that without a Governour or Deputy-Governour you cannot so much as Claime the Government by Law, much lesse enter upon it. And therefore we see that in the Patent, the King doth not Constitute onely a number of Freemen, and make them immediately capable to take such and such priviledges, and give them power rudely to run together whensoever some factious spirits shall make a bustle, and so in a tumult to choose them a Governour & Magistrates; No, but he first creates them a Body politick consisting of Governour and Company, and by that name makes them capable in Law to take the priviledges which he thereafter gives. And he himselfe nominates and appoints the first Governour or Deputy-Governour for the time being, to give order for the Assembling of the Company upon all occasions (whether for Election or otherwise) and in such orderly manner gives them leave to assemble as often as need requireth.

Secondly, (Which doth also confirm the former) Before you can hold a Court of Election according to the Patent,
you

you must have a General Court or Assembly constituted according to the Patent: the reason is, because the Patent doth ordaine, that the Governour, Deputy-Governour, and Assistants &c. be annually chosen, not without, but in the said Generall Court: concerning this matter the King, in his Patent, ordains three things.

1. That every Second Thursday in May and October (or oftner if need be) there shall be a Generall Assembly. 2. That this Generall Court or Assembly, consist of the Governour or Deputy-Governour, and at least six of the Assistants, and of the Freemen or their Deputyes. 3. That at least once in every year (Viz.) on the second Thursday in May, the Governour Deputy-Governour & Assistants of the said Company and other Officers &c. shall be in the said Generall Court and Assembly, to be held from that day or time newly chosen for the yeare ensueing &c. Thus saith the Patent expressly: But you have now no Governour, Deputy-Governour, nor Assistants, therefore can have no such Generall Court or Assembly; therefore can hold no Court of Election by virtue of or according to your Patent. Examine the Patent and see &c.

From these two Considerations it appears, that if you do proceed to Election in your present state, you will but deceive your selves and trouble the Country to no purpose: all that you will do, will be void in Law: the Government you think to set up will be but an imaginary Government, a shadow without a substance, Magistrates without Authority, for you can give them none, neither does the Patent give them any. A Government that cannot determine the Present Government, nor vacate the Commissions that have been given out from the King, and are still in force, nor exercise any Authority to effect: for their Authority may justly (yea, ought to) be denied by every one, and they cannot enforce it, without Lawlesse Usurpation & Tyrannie. 2. You will
but

but trouble your *selves*, for you will be immediately liable to a *Quo-Warranto*, and can give no account by what Authority you do these arbitrary things.

Thirdly, The Government is now in the King's hands, (and here, that no person may cavill, the word *King* may be understood indefinitely for the King his Heires & Successours, for the Heir or Successour is King, when the Time of Succession is come. But I say, The Government is now in the Kings hands, and it will be wisdom to proceed in a regular way, if you desire to recover it. For in regard of the dignity of his person, the King has by Law a Prerogative above the Subject for the keeping of what he hath. Hence, a man may not enter upon the King as he may upon his Fellow subject; much lesse may he enter upon the King by Force. I do not now enter upon that Question, *How far those that are by and under the King entrusted with publick Power and Office, for the defence of the Lawes and Libertyes of the Subject, may, in case, use force for that end; and the people under them at their Call and Command;* This is another Question, and not our case, and those that desire satisfaction, may consult those that have written weightily upon that Subject. It is one thing to defend the Lawes and Liberties of the Subject. This some think *some* may do, and this defends the Government: But it is another thing to subvert & change & take possession of the Government it self, this none may do. And tho' some may say, *But the Government is illegally taken into the King's hand, and it is one of our great Liberties:* I shall say something to that by and by.

Therefore to let that Question passe untoucht. I said that the Subject may not enter upon the King with force: now you cannot enter upon the King in point of Government, but it is with force, for all power of Government implies force antecedent for the setting of it up, and concomitant for
the

the Support and Defence of it, and partly because you cannot do it in this way of Election without Multitude, which is *Force* in the judgment of the Law, as well as *Manus armata*, or Force of Arms, so that if you do it, it must necessarily be done with force; now to enter upon the King in point of Government with Force, what is it but to invade the Crown? And Kings do account their Heads & Crownes to be very neare each to other; and that he that attempts against the one, attempts against the other.

This Affaire therefore doth touch the Crowne, and nearly concerne your Allegiance, and is worthy to be well considered, for it is of dangerous consequence; 'tis dangerous to those that shall Choose, and be Chosen, and Accept; dangerous to all that shall any waies contrive, counsell, abett or conceale, (tho' here is hardly room for Concealing, (*A Citty set on a Hill cannot be hid*, and these things cannot be done in a Corner) 'tis dangerous to your selves and Posterity, yea dangerous to us all, and doth require more skill in Law and State affaires than is very common among us, to make the way plain to a safe proceeding in it; for I cannot find that the Law doth use any softer Language concerning such Actions, than that of *Tumults, Insurrections, rebellious Riots, Sedition, Rebellion, Treason, &c.*

Gentlemen, I hope you will be carefull to keep at a due distance from such things which are wont to be *Bitternesse in the end*. 'Tis an easy matter to run too farr; And the worst is wont to be made of such things when they come to Tryall.

Fourthly, You may here consider that the Government was not taken into the King's hand without your own Submission, and some sort (at least) of Consent; whence possibly there was not so much Illegality in that proceeding as some do imagine. I was not personally acquainted with those Transactions, and therefore cannot undertake much in this;
but

but this I suppose will not be denied, that if parties be at Law (whether King and subject, or subject and subject) and instead of standing a Tryal, they agree upon Conditions, and the Conditions are performed, and so the Action be let fall, this is not illegall: and if afterwards either party be sensible of inconveniency, will it be fair and honest for him to say it was illegall, and thereupon breake his Agreement? The *Inhabitant of the Holy Hill swears to his own hurt, and changeth not*. You were at Law with the King, and its like you thought it would be a great Charge to maintaine the Action, and it might go against you at last, and you should be annexed to *Yorke*; and hereupon you submit to the King's Wisdome and pleasure, begging that you may be annexed to the *Bay*; the King performs this condition, and lets fall his Action, Demands the Government, and you yield it up to him; if now you finde it prejudiciall, you must *lay your hand upon your mouth*, and not take it again by force. We must not think to leave and take when we please.

Fifthly, None are allowed by the Law to be Judges in their own Case, no not the King himself: But if you proceed in this manner, you take upon you, in your own case to judge the King, to condemn and take possession, which in reason will never be borne, for Princes are as tender of their Prerogative as Subjects can be of their Liberties.

But to abate the Force of these Considerations, some say, *We heare there is no King, Regall Power is Extinct, &c.* I answer, 'tis no pleasant Objection or Subject to speak to, but yet the Necessity of the present time seems to require a word or two to prevent these unwise and unwary speeches which do not become Subjects. Therefore I say first, That Rumours are but a sandy foundation to ground such assertions, or to change & build Government upon, we have yet nothing of Record concerning the King. 2. This doth not help our case at all, for if it were indeed so, that the *Sceptre*
were

were departed, you have then nothing to do with the Patent; Tis onely the *King's* Governour and Company that hath Interest in the Patent, and the King grants it onely for Himselfe, his Heires and Successours, if there be none of these, your Patent and Estate in it are expired without any more to do. But, 3^{ly}. The King is a Royall Body politick which hath Succession whereby the Crown passeth not onely to heires by *Blood*, but to Successours also; in which respect it is said, That in Judgement of Law, *The KING never dyes*. There is allwaies a King.

But others say, *What shall we do? there is no Government; the Governour who is the Head of it is imprisoned, and hath Surrendred his Government*. I answer, It is a very great Errour and proceeds from ignorance to think that *there is no Government*, & it contains so many *inconveniences & mischiefs* in it, as it is not safe to mention them; so long as there is any supream power, there must needs be a Government. 2. The Governour is not the Head of the Government but the *King*. And the Government is not his properly and originally but the *King's*. The Governour is but a Minister of the King in the Government, which Ministry it is said he hath surrendred to be secured and be disposed of by Orders that shall be received from the Crown of *England*. It will not become us to prevent these Orders and dispose of the Government otherwise our selves; but to acknowledge our subjection to that Crown, as our Neighbours would do well to do. 3. The Commissions of the Judges and Justices of the severall Counties (the Execution whereof is no small part of Government) are granted by the Governour (tis true) but not from the Governour, but from the *King*, & are derived from the Crowne; it is not from an inferiour but from a Supream power, and they do still continue in force notwithstanding the imprisonment or Surrender of the Governour; for they are matters of Record under the great Seale of the
Dominion

Dominion, & cannot be countermanded without matter of Record of as high a nature. You may take one instance from *Charles* the first his time, He was indeed the head of the Government; but yet notwithstanding the great Breach and long Warrs between him and his Parliament, and his long imprifonment after that, both together from 42. to the end of 48. there was still a Government, and it was his Government, and exercifed by the King's Commissions as long as he lived, for they were not changed nor superfeded till a year after his death, as the Histories of thofe times fhew. So that notwithstanding all the Rumours we have had from abroad, and the Overtures at home, there is a Government still, to which we ought to fubmit; and that for Confcience fake. Let us not have caufe to fay, that *there are none that will be governed.*

Sixthly. I may defire you to confider thofe honoured Gentlemen who had the Rule over you under the former Government, and are now alfo in place under this Government, who I believe would hardly have accepted any Commission under the prefent Government, but for this end, that you might not be fo much Ruled by ftrangers as otherwise you might have been, and to prevent the miferies that might follow thereupon: I am fure that this was one principall Argument that they ufed with me, when they faw me fo averfe as I was to Accept, and I think the end has been fo far attained, as that you ought with Thankfullnefs to acknowledge, that by this meanes you have efcaped the greateft part of thofe grievances which others complain of, and not now (you think you have the ftaffe in your hand) to ride over their Confciences who are under Oath (from which neither they nor you can abfolve them) to execute their Commissions, and to tread them down as mire in the ftreet: The meafure that you mete may be meafured to you again. Tis a golden Rule, That which you would that
others

others should do to you, do you the same to them; & do not recompence evil for good.

Some I know reflect hard upon them for giving up the former Government; much like those that reflect upon old father *Adam*; but I will so far apologize for them, as to desire you to reflect upon your selves, for have you already forgotten that you (I mean the people) were divided in your opinions; many grudged at the charge of that Affaire, whence it was hard (if possible) for them *seasonably to raise money* to maintaine the suite. (I my self know who were then as hot against the raising of money for that Purpose (and cry'd out it was illegall) as now hot for the Patent, and ready to cry out upon the losse of that as illegall; but I will not prejudice any man.) Others were so affraid of being annexed to *Yorke*, that they thought it the best way to submit without more a doe, so that they might be annexed to the Bay. Surely you cannot forget these things, by which (comeing from the people to their Deputyes) it is reasonable to think that the Generall Assembly was moved to make that Submission to the King, and in all Reason it was much better so, than for want of money, to have had a Judgement given against us upon a *Nihil-Dicit*, or Contempt, and it is possible, that if those who reflect so hard upon them had been under the same Circumstances, they would have done the same thing or worse. Therefore methinks they might be a little considered, and not made the scorn of the people.

Seventhly. Consider your Profession, we are all Protestants, I hope there is not a Papist in our Limits, I know not any: and we professe to believe (rejecting humane Traditions) That the word of God is the onely and sufficient Rule of Faith and Manners. And do we not there finde that *Sure word of Prophesie, to which we may do well to take heed, as to a light that shines in a Dark place*, which doth direct and counsell us, *To fear the Lord and the King, and not to meddle with*

with those that are given to change, To Keep the King's Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God, To Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's, To Study to be quiet, and to be subject to Principalities and powers (because they are of God) and to obey Magistrates, To submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it to be the King as supream, or unto Governours as unto those that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers and the praise of them that do well, for so is the will of God, that with well doing, we may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, &c. and, Not to despise Government, nor to speake evill of Dignities? These are found Doctrines, and will well confist with the protestant Religion (else we had reason to be ashamed of it) and it were to be wished, That these among us who *are the salt of the earth & Light of the world* would season the people by putting them in mind (as *Paul* commands *Titus*) of those great Duties so necessary for these perilous days, wherein men are (as was prophesied they would be) so apt to be Traitors, heady and high minded, and to despise Government. Therefore before we proceed in this Affaire, consider what our Religion will gain by it, an Ornament or a Blott, and whether we shall not give Occasion to adversaries (that seek occasion) to blaspheme the name and speake evill of the waies of God amongst us.

Eighthly, Consider the time and state of affaires in the Christian world. If anything be true of that which comes to us it seems, it is a time wherein there is a strong engagement to root out the Protestant Religion. *Europe* is upon this account in flames, the Ax is laid to our own Root, if it be so, it is a time wherein we had need to *strengthen the things that are weake*, to join heart and hand together against French and Pagan-Force and Cruelty, and to unite heaven and Earth if possible, for the preservation of our selves and posterity,

posterity, and for the Defence of the cause of God and his Truth with us ; surely this is no time to fall to Faction and parties, to tread down the Government that is left, (too weak already,) to disturb and obstruct the Course of Justice, To confound the Militia, that no man shall know whome to Command nor whome to Obey, and to promote private interests, and therefore set every man's hand against his Brother, unlesse we designe to ruine all. I wish there be not some Jesuit that has foisted in this Project amongst them in the Bay and us here, as the most probable way to ruin us at this time ; for it is the old trade of that Diabolical sort of men by their plausible crafty Counsells, to make protestants destroy themselves, by stirring up, and fomenting divisions among them ; and promoting any thing which tends thereto, the which, how naturally & necessarily they will flow from this proceeding is easy to shew : but it is better to be silent than by speaking to shew men the way which they are too ready to run into.

Ninethly. More might be said, but the last Consideration that I shall offer (and which I think may satisfy any reasonable man) is, That it is known the Country is in daily Expectation of Orders from the Crowne of *England*, for the Settling and Regulating of the Government, those Orders will either contradict or overthrow your Election, or else countenance and Encourage it :

If they overthrow it, to what end is it to hold a Court (if we could hold a Court) to make Election, to change and turn things up-side down, and hereby put the Country (which is poor enough already) to unnecessary charge, and know not how to defray it when we have done, and to run the hazzard of displeasure from the supream power abroad, and of making Division and Mischief at home, and all for an imaginary Government, which may possibly last for a week or a moneth. *Sapiens incipit a Fine.*

If

If the Orders shall come to do countenance and encourage to an Election, they will be such as will enable us to it, and so we shall preserve a good Aspect abroad, and Unity and Peace at home; what need then of such Haste? These things cannot be spoken against. And the Town-Clerke of *Ephesus* could say, that these things being so, *you ought to be quiet & do nothing rashly.*

But some say, We shall lose our day if we do not proceed now. I answer, There is nothing in that, for if you have sufficient Warrant from the Crowne of *England*, to enable you to the thing, you will be enabled as to a Day, and Persons, and what else is needfull which now you are not, as before was said.

But say others, if we have an Election before these Orders come, we shall be in a Capacity to capitulate, and so obtain the better termes, &c. I answer this is a great mistake, It will be a mighty Disadvantage; for it will be a wonderfull thing if you be not look'd upon and dealt with as Criminalls.

Again, Whome do you mean to Capitulate with? Surely it will be good manners for us to Aske, and not to Command; to Follow our Leaders and not to go before them.

But some think, These are small matters that will be overlook'd, and easily pardoned, we need not stand upon such niceties.

But I Answer how small they are will be best seen afterwards, and it is better not to need a pardon, than to presume upon getting one.

From all these Considerations I conclude, that our strength is to sit still, and therefore do advise.

That instead of moving towards an Election, the Judges and Justices in the severall Counties, considering their Commissions which they have received and the Oaths which they have taken, for the faithfull Execution of them, and Remembering that the Judgement is not man's but God's who is with
them

them in the Judgement, they take Courage and do it; and in Order thereto Unanimously Declare, that they will Maintain and Exercise the Government (in their Degree) according to their Commissions, in Conformity to the Lawes which are the Rules of their Commissions, & the true and proper Bulwarks of the Subject's just Libertyes, being carefull to do nothing contrary thereto, to the best of their understanding: & that the good People here do willingly & cheerfully submit & yield obedience to the severall Officers in their Respective places, as their Duty is, untill such time as sufficient Warrant shall come from the Crown of *England* for other Orders. And in the meane time, we all with one consent *Lift up our hearts with our hands to God in the Heavens* for a happy Composure of these Commotions in *England* and those other Kingdomes, for the Restitution, Security and propagation of the Gospell, true Religion and Worship of God, and for the preserving and establishing of the peace and liberty of his people there and here, and else where throughout the world to the glory of God.

This Course is regular, innocent, offensive to none, and most safe for our selves and ours: but if the people will not be advised, I very much fear that the Issue will not be like a Tree of Life, or the desire satisfied, else truly I should not at this time have given you or my selfe this trouble.

The Opinion, and Resolution of the other Justices I know not, but for my part I am plaine, and I must declare & protest against an Election at the present, as that which is justly offensive to the supreme Power, in whose hands soever it is, or shall be, and pernicious to our selves; and if the people should willfully proceed to it, it will remaine for the Justices to consider whether the Law and their Oathes don't require them to make a Record of it, and Certifie it into the Chancery, &c. But I hope there will none enforce to such things, and I pray that you may all Act under the Influence
of

of the God of peace and Order. And in Testimony that this is my Opinion and Advice, I have hereunto set my hand, on the eighth day of May, 1689.

Gershom Bulkeley.

——— *Pacem te Poscimus omnes.*

Peace is the Tranquillity of Order, therefore Order is the onely right Way of Peace.

A Letter to Gershom Bulkeley, Esq; (one of their Majesties Justices of the Peace in the County of Hartford) from a friend in the Bay.

Sir,

I Have seen your Letter referring to the Government of *Connecticut Colony* Directed unto Col' *Treate* and other Gentlemen there, and being very well acquainted with the papers and passages you refer to and the Truth of them severally: I earnestly expected the Answer, as extreamely necessary for the Vindication of the assumed Government in your parts, if at least they mean to continue their Allegiance and Dependance upon the Crowne of *England*, or to hold their Majesties Subjects in those parts in obedience to them. But for that I heare nothing in their Defence, I must be allowed to guesse, that either those Gentlemen have Orders from their Majesties unknowne to any, thus to advance themselves, or that they mean to cast off their Dependence & Obedience to the Crown of *England*: The first of these is dishonourable to suppose, the latter will end in the utter Ruin of the English interest here, and *leave us a prey to all Nations, when the wild beast shall pass by and tread down the Thistle.*

But

But whatsoever be the Opinion or Repentment of your Gentlemen, I will assure you Sir the good people here (that are so far quitted of the fright and hurry of the late and present confusion in these parts) with that the men of *Sechem* had *hearkened* unto *Jotham*, that *God might have hearkened unto them*; and fear lest the proceeding here as well as with you, being plainly represented at home, should alarm a just and wise Prince, to take some severe method to keep the people of these Colonies in a more strict Obedience to the Crowne of *England* than will agree with our present licentious & ungovern'd frame; there being amongst us men not of the least interest that daily say, they will not be shuffled out of their Allegiance.

When it shall be seen and understood that the Noise of a French PLOT, and a Maqua's PLOT, A Plot to BURN the TOWNE of BOSTON and to MASSACRE the PEOPLE, neither have nor ever had the least shadow of truth, but a pure *Malicious Invention* onely, to persuade the Common-people into an ill Opinion of those appointed to rule & Govern them, and whom in Duty & Conscience they ought to obey, and being in that manner amused were pushed and hurried into such a Rising and Convulsion of the Government, without ever considering the effect:

And when it shall be told (as now too truly it may) that the Effect of these changes, are the totall Subversion of their Majesties Government, the Loss of the Garrison at *Pemaquid*, the County of *Cornwall*, the *Province of Main* and other parts, Severall hundreds of their Majesties subjects, the Fishery and Lumber trade, the Running away of many of our people, who turn Pirates and do their Countrymen and neighbours the same Mischiefs that the *Algerines* do upon the Coasts of the Christians, whilst their Majestie's Ship of Warre is dismantled and made uselesse, the most unjust, long, and cruell Confinement and imprisonment of the
Governour,

Governour, (who was both capable and active on all occasions for the publick good and safety of the Country) severall of the Councill, and other persons imploy'd in publick Office in the Government, (an Act, for which the *American* world can shew no Example or Parallell) and the Committing of the greatest Routs and Riots, even on the Sabbath day, and many other inconveniences that daily grow upon us: surely all sober and thinking men cannot but see the Folly and Errour of these things, and wish that day had never been, which has occasioned so great mischiefs and miseries, of which we all see the Beginning, but none can tell the end.

Amongst the many and false *Rumours and Aspersions* cast upon his *Excellency* the *Governour*, and spread abroad to bring him into Disreputation with his *Prince*, and make him odious to the Common People, I finde one (not of the least) taken notice of by you (very well answered and made of no Weight) which doubtless Influenced some and was a meanes to withdraw & delude others, but do not perceive by your Writeing that you were satisfied in the Falsity as well as the Weaknesse of that Assertion.

Therefore that you may be rightly informed in that particular, I must tell you, That the Peoples takeing to Armes, was wholly a Surprize to *His Excellency*, and that untill they were actually so, he had not the least Advice or Intimation thereof, and used no other meanes, but by the force of his Authority endeavoured to Satisfie them; And to that end Hearing that many of the Councill were at the Councill-Chamber, where (it being the ordinary Councill-Day) they were to meet, (and some particularly by him sent for from *Salem* and other parts to be there) *His Excellency* went to them, and desired their Assistance to pacify the people then in Armes, offering on his part to do what might be proper for His Majesties Service and the Good and Welfare of his Subjects here: but severall others of the Cheife of the Towne

Towne and Magistrates in the late Government being designedly met there, instead of Complying with *his Excellencies* Proposals, and to *Support and Maintaine the Government*, they *lent the Croud their arme to shake the Tree*, and made *his Excellency* a Prisoner in the Councill-Chamber, and soon after some of the *Councill* and other officers that waited on him: An Act much like that of *Brutus to Cæsar*, abating the difference of the Person, and that they did not *stab* him; but kept him a Prisoner to undergoe worse Miseries.

After *his Excellency* was *thus Confined*, he was often pressed with Threats to give Order for the Surrender of the *Fort and Castle*, which he absolutely *Refused*, and never gave any Order for the Surrender of either, but they were *Forced from the officers* that had the Command of them:⁴⁵ If this be a *Surrender of the Government*, you and all prudent men may judge: I am sure (as you have well observed) the Law gives it a quite other Terme.

His Excellency had sufficient Authority and Orders from the Crowne of *England* to secure the *Government*, which (no doubt) he would have done, had all those in place discharged their Duties, and the People continued their Obedience and Subjection: He wanted not further Orders from *England* for that purpose, nor had he occasion to appoint Trustees, the *King* had appointed and intrusted such as He thought were sufficient. But it was wonderfull to see, with what a *Strong Delusion* the people were possessed at that time; and thought they had their *Thousands* obtained a mighty Victory over *Ten or Twelve naked persons*, and therein *done God good Service*. The Strength of Government consists in the Obedience

⁴⁵ See PALFREY, iii. 586, for the contradictory reports about Sir Edmund's order to surrender the Fort and Castle.

Obedience of the People, and when that Duty is not Regarded the Government is soon Overthrown, and all turned into *Anarchy* and Confusion; of which we have now a sad Example: for what between an *Imaginary Government* & the Fury of the *Mobile* it is hard to *know who is uppermost*.

I have alwaies considered the Ministry of this Country as that which the people came into this WilderNESS to see, and I hope it shall never be *a Reed shaken with the wind*, and their present influence in all parts of the Country to move the people to bethink themselves of their Cause & unaccountable Prejudices, Wrath and Rage, their ungodly deeds, and hard Speeches one against another; and to dispose them to their Duties and Obedience to their Majesties Government as established and appointed over them from the Crown of *England*, and that they would prove themselves *to be Children that will not lye*, that God may become their Saviour; is humbly offered as a great part of their Province.

I am ignorant whether from any in these parts you have been written unto since your letter was made publick here, but I am sure your Reasons will be found true, agreeable to Religion and Law, and what you have said against an Election, is as true against an Assumption; and what is true of the Avoidance of the Charter of Connecticut, is much more true of that of the Massachusetts; and how a dependant part of the English Nation can legally come at Government, at least the Coercive part of it, without a Grant from the Crowne, being not to be found in the ordinary Readings of the Law, may be enquired for at *Delphos*.

We often say, that *every man has a pope in his belly*, but I hope nobody pretends to have a *King* there, whatever Sovereignty

raignty men take to themselves of opinions in Religion, the Government expects by private persons to be treated with more Distance & Difference, and will certainly be obeyed.

Sir I have Known you long a true Lover of your Countrey, of Integrity and Service in your place and Station, and account your plainnesse to your Countrymen in this great Affaire, as the best Service you could offer them, and am deeply sorry if any other Opinion be taken thereof amongst the people, however I perceive you have what you expected: and the Rewards of Vertue and public Service are not so soon nor easily gotten.

That all these things may have a happy Compofure, and *Their Majesties* Subjects in this their Dominion a due & true Sence of their Duty and Allegiance (which can onely make these Plantations happy & flourish) I am very sure is your desire as well as of (Sir) your Friend and Servant &c.⁴⁶

The

⁴⁶ We do not find the probable writer of this letter to Bulkeley named. Some circumstances would lead us to attribute the authorship to Palmer, but Lawrence Hammond, of Charlestown, was one of the writers on Andros's side, according to FROTHINGHAM, (Hist. 233.) We can hardly attribute it to Greaves, the writer

of the document immediately following this letter in the text, and yet the juxtaposition would seem to indicate some close connection between the two documents. As we shall see, Charlestown at this time contained many influential citizens opposed to the overthrow of the Andros government.



The Writeing Delivered to *James Russell* of *Charlestowne* Esq; by *Thomas Graves* Esq; Judge of their Majesties Inferiour Court of pleas, and one of their Majesties Justices of the Peace, within the County of *Middlesex*.

To *James Russell* of *Charlestowne* Esq; to be communicated to any others that are in like manner with your self concerned herein.

Sir. *Forasmuch as I am credibly informed, that your self with some other pretended Magistrates do intend on the first Tuesday in October next, to meet together at Cambridge to keep a pretended Court of Judicature, not having any lawful authority from our Sovereigne Lord and Lady, King William & Queen Mary, enabling you so to do, I therefore considering the obligation lying upon me, by the Commission to the judge of the inferiour Court of Pleas in said County, both from the Crowne of England; neither of which (altho' I have by the late Tumults (not yet stilled) been hindred from executing the power therein to me committed) is yet legally vacated, or superseded: I can do no lesse to show my Loyalty to the Crowne of England than to signify unto you, that any such Meeting can be look'd upon no otherwise than as contrary to the peace of our Sovereigne Lord & Lady, King William & Queen Mary their Crowne & Dignity: and therefore I must on their Majesties behalfe warne you, that you presume not to assemble at Cambridge or any other place within this County, for any such unlawfull purpose aforesaid, but that you do at all times bear good Faith & Allegiance to their sacred Majesties, as you will answer the contrary at your perill.*

Dated in Charlestowne this 21st day of September in the first yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, Annoq. Dom.
1689.

The

The Answer of *Thomas Greaves* Esq., to Mr. *Broadstreete* & the Gentlemen met at the Town-houſe in *Boston* concerning the aforeſaid Writing.

Mr. Thomas Greaves being ſummoned to make his appearance at Boston, on the 24 of Septemb. 1689, at which time Mr. Broadstreete produced a paper which was ſhewed Mr. Greaves, demanding if he knew it, (who answered he did) it was propoſed for a Reading, but Mr. Greaves made answer, They need not give themſelves that Trouble, for he fully knew the Contents and owned it to be his Act. But it was Read; after the Reading Mr. Broadstreete made a Speech to Mr. Greaves, in fine ſaying, He would ſay no more till Mr. Greaves made Answer: which he had ready prepared in Writing, as followeth Viz.

As to the paper delivered to Mr. James Ruſſell I judge I did but my duty in it, and therefore cannot in conſcience recede from it, & I ſhall be ready to answer King William & Queen Mary whenſoever they or any authorized from them ſhall call me to account for the ſame. I am ſworne to the Crown of England, & your ſelves have proclaimed King William & Queen Mary to be the rightfull Sovereigns of the Realmes and Territories belonging thereunto; Therefore I cannot own any Lawfull Authority in any untill I be legally informed that they have Commiſſion from their Sacred Majeſties.

Thomas Greaves.



⁴⁷ FROTHINGHAM, in his *History of Charlestown*, pp. 228-235, adds considerable to our knowledge of the circumstances under which Judge Greaves presented the Remonstrance. Lawrence Hammond had been one of the signers of the instructions to the Deputies summoned from the town by the "Council for the Safety of the People and Conservation of the Peace," which met at Boston on the 22d of May, 1689. Yet he was opposed to the resumption of the old Charter, and was supported by many of his friends. Occasions for a display of this opposition to the new government soon occurred, and notably the one mentioned in the text. "The convention declared, July 4, 1689, that all courts of judicature as formerly held within this Colony, should be holden at such times and places as were provided in a law in reference to them, until further settlement. Acting under such authority, James Russell appointed a Court at Cambridge on the first Tuesday in October." (FROTHINGHAM, 229.) To this, Thomas Greaves, the former judge under Andros, filed a formal objection, and was supported by Capt. Richard Sprague, Capt. Lawrence Hammond, Dea. John Cutler, and John Cutler, jr. "The above named citizens were complained of to the Council, for misdemeanors at a town meeting and for publishing this seditious writing," and were tried September 24th. They were punished by confinement to their houses and by removal from office, Sprague being expelled from the House of Representatives.

It was not until the close of the year 1689, that Hammond and John Cutler, Sen'r, submitted, and three months longer before John Cutler, jr., made his peace with the government.

NEW-ENGLAND VINDICATED

From the Unjust Aspersions cast on the
former Government there, by some late

CONSIDERATIONS

PRETENDING TO SHEW

That the Charters in those Colonies were
Taken from them on Account of their Destroying
the Manufactures and Navigation of
England.





NEW-ENGLAND VINDICATED⁴⁸

From the Unjust Aspersions cast on the former Government
there, by some late

CONSIDERATIONS

Pretending to shew that the Charters in those Colonies were
Taken from them on Account of their Destroying the
Manufactures and Navigation of England.



E shall pretermitt what the *Considerators* have in
their *Scandalous Libel* related concerning other
Plantations, and only take notice of what con-
cerns New-England. And in the first place they
affirm,

That hundreds of Ships have been Employed to transport
thence Tobacco, Sugars, Wooll, and other Materials for
Manufactures, into France, Holland; and to import thence
into

⁴⁸ This Tract, probably one of Increase Mather's Three Vindications, is printed from a transcript of a copy in the British Museum. It is evidently a reply to a printed attack against the colonists, though we have not yet been able to trace this pamphlet. This publication we infer from the closing paragraphs of the present Tract, which speaks of "the

other pamphlet newly come forth"; if a copy of either can be obtained in season, it will be printed in the present collection. PALFREY, iii. 515, quotes this pamphlet as having the imprint London, 1688. If Mather was the author, he must have written it soon after his arrival, as it was antecedent to the overthrow of Andros.

into New-England, Linnen, Woollen and all other Manufactures.

This at first View will appear a great Untruth to all that know New-England; for that Countrey can hardly expend the Goods that are yearly Exported from hence thither, the Number of the People considered; nor have they any other way to vend so great a quantity of Goods as such a Number of Ships must necessarily Import: Nor have they Commodities to Export fit for those parts, nor could they (all things considered) purchase Goods thence on so easie terms as they may have them from *England*. And they have made a *Law against Exporting* of Wooll, not having a twentieth part of what is necessary for their own Use. The most of their Shipping is employed in transporting Lumber, Horses and Provisions to *Jamaica, Barbados*, and the Caribbee Islands, without which those Islands cannot well subsist: And many Vessels are built there upon Account of Merchants in *London*, sent home, and by them often sold or employed here:⁴⁹ And to prevent Illegal practices, they made in the Year 1663. a Law, That *the Act of Navigation* should be strictly observed and their Governors have been carefull to see it Executed, and are yearly Sworn so to doe, nor can it be proved that the least Breach of it was ever allowed by the Government, which is not to be blamed for the private Transgressions of some few particular persons.

As for what the Considerators report, concerning the Manner of Vacating the Charter of the *Massachusetts* Colony, the Matter is by them fallaciouſly represented. When a
Quo

⁴⁹ The law here referred to will be found in the *Massachusetts* Records, Vol. iv, part ii, p. 87, under date of 21 October, 1663. It appointed officers to have the charge of all vessels trading

here, to take bonds for the proper fulfilment of the provisions of the Act of Navigation, and provided for annual returns to be sent to the Governor, and by him to be forwarded to London.

Quo Warranto was in the Year 1683 issued out against them, with the Notification thereof: By the then Kings Order were sent over one hundred Copies of the proceedings against the Charter of *London*, and two hundred Copies of a Declaration, to be dispersed among the People in New-England, discharging the Inhabitants from all Rates and Contributions towards the Expence of the said Suit, and enjoyning those particular Persons mentioned in the *Quo Warranto*, to make their Defence at their own particular Charge, without any help by a publick Stock.

Nevertheles the Governor and Company Appointed an Attorney to Answer to the *Quo Warranto* in the Court of *King's Bench*; there it was let fall, and a new Suit Began by *Scire Facias* in Court of *Chancery*, and judgment entred against them for Default in not Appearing: Whereas, considering the Remoteness of *New-England* from *Westminster*, it was impossible for them to Appear in the time allowed, and so by a Surprise their Charter was taken from them.

As to what is objected about Coyning, many *Goldsmiths* in *London* can testify that the Money coyned in *New-England* is as good as that of *England* and not of a baser Alloy (as is suggested). It was formerly customary for private Persons in *England* to Coyn Farthings for their own Use, and the Coyning in *Massachusetts* Colony was little more than that, and with Design to prevent the great Injuries Merchants and others sustained by base *Spanish* Money: And the Mint was set up in 1652, when there was no King in *England*, but the Government out of Course; and when the ancient Government of *England* was resettled, and the Kings mind to the contrary signified to them, they resolved to comply therewith though many wayes disadvantageous to themselves. Was not the Value of Coyn altered in *Pensilvania*? Did
not

not the Lord *Baltimore* in *Maryland* Coyn Money with his own Image on one fide, and his Coat of Arms on the other? Did not the East-India Company? But when they understood their Error, they petitioned the King for liberty of Coynage, and pardon of what was past, and it was granted them? Why then should *New-England* be esteemed more criminal than other Plantations?

. The *Considerators* go on, and complain, That in *New-England* they have *Imposed Taxes* upon *Shipping* and the *Manufactures* of *England* coming into those parts. There hath been *none* Imposed on Shipping but *Powder-Money*, and not half so much as is done in the other Plantations,⁵⁰ nor any upon the Manufactures of *England* particularly, but only one penny upon Twenty shillings Value of all Merchandizes whatsoever, as on all other Estates in the Countrey; and since Charters were taken from them, the same and more hath been levied by the present Governour, besides six times the Fees upon Shipping more than was paid formerly: All which hath been done by him without any consent of the People, or their Representatives, which the former Government never practised.

Whereas it is maliciously insinuated, That the *Massachusetts* have Imposed an Oath of Fidelity to their Commonwealth, we shall only in Answer Insert the Copy of the Oath, as it is in their printed Law-book.

The Oath.

Whereas I [A. B] am an Inhabitant within this Jurisdiction, considering how I stand Obligated to the Kings Majesty, his

⁵⁰ May 15, 1667, it was ordered that all vessels of over twenty tons, trading here, should pay every voyage, one half a pound of powder, or the value of it, for every ton of burthen, towards the fund for building fortifications. Massachusetts Records, Vol. iv, part ii, p. 331.

his Heirs and Successors, by our Charter and the Government Established thereby: Do Swear accordingly by the great and dreadful Name of the Ever-living God, that I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to our Sovereign Lord the King, his Heirs and Successors, and that I will be True and Faithfull to this Government, and accordingly Yield Assistance thereunto, with my Person and Estate, as in Equity I am bound.

And will also truly endeavour to Maintain and Preserve all the Liberties and Privileges thereof, Submitting my self unto the wholsom Laws made and established by the same. And farther, That I will not Plot or Practise any evil against it, or consent to any that shall so do; but will timely discover and reveal the same to Lawful Authority now here Established, for the speedy preventing thereof. So help me God in our Lord Jesus Christ."

Nor know we that they have (as is asserted) *Encroached upon their Neighboring Colonies* in a hostile manner, except it be meant of their assisting with Voluntiers when King Charles the Second sent to take Monhatas, now called *New York*; or of their Concurrence in taking from the *French* S. Johns, *Penobscot*, Port Royal, which were put into the hands of those that were then in Power in *England*.

Nor have they (as is alledged) *Affronted the Commissioners of King Charles the Second*, whose Commission (as to the legal part of it, not by them duly observed) was in some particulars Illegal and Arbitrary, and Empowred them to *Hear and determine all Causes* (not by Law, but) *according to their sound Discretion*,⁵¹ which could not be submitted to by the

⁵¹ See this phrase "according to their good and sound discretions" in the Instructions to the Commissioners appointed in 1665, by Charles II, published in *Massachusetts Records*, Vol. iv, part ii, p. 162.

the *Massachusetts*, without giving up at once their Charter and Priviledges.

Neither have they *made Laws against all Opinions in Religion excepting those of the Congregational Churches, and more especially against the Church of England*. It must be acknowledged, that there have been some severe and unjustifiable Laws, there, in matters of Opinion⁵² * * * * * long since sensible; Yet what is here affirmed, is untrue; for *Presbyterians* have equal Encouragement with those of the Congregational perswasion: nor are there any *Laws against the Church of England*, as is falsely and maliciously pretended. Let them prove if they can, that any number of Men are inclined to worship God, in the way of the Church of England, were denied by the Government in *New-England* liberty so to do. The Magistrates there have often professed, that they would not hinder any that were so principled from practising what they did most approve of.

As for their *Treating ill the Captains of the Kings Ships for desiring Permission to recruit themselves with Men and Victuals*; and as to *entertaining of Pirats*: These things are like the former. If any Commanders of Ships have behaved themselves Insolently, and violated the Laws of God and the Land, it became the Government to testify against them; but malice it self cannot deny, that the People of *New-England* have been extreamly Civil to Strangers, and especially to such as the King hath put any mark of Honour upon; and they have sometimes relieved, and that Gratis, the Kings Ships distressed through want of Provision. And if any Pirats have been entertained, it hath been because they were not known to be such; for they made a particular Law
against

⁵² Here a line at the top of the page is missing in the copy at the British Museum.

againſt Piracy, agreeable to the Law of *England*, on account whereof ſome have been there Executed.⁵³

The *Confiderators* tell us that the *People of New England* are free from all Taxes, and Contribute nothing to the Crown, nor their own Protection or Support: Whereas they are no more free than other Plantations, for they pay Cuſtoms in the Plantations for the Goods they fetch thence into *New England*; and when theſe goods are brought into *England*, they pay the ſame a ſecond time; ſo that they Contribute not a little to the Crown.

Before the change of their Government, they never did put the Crown to a penny Charge for their Protection or Support: but ſince that, have been very chargeable, and leſs beneficial to the Crown.

It is ſtrange, that the *Confiderators* ſhould have the Impudence to publiſh to the World, *That the People of New-England in General, are better ſatisfied* with the preſent Government there, and do not⁵⁴ * * * * * of their Charters. Whereas many unto whom the Genius and Temper of the Inhabitants is well known, do with Confidence Averr, that there not one in a thouſand of them, but deſires that their Charters may be reſtored to them, which alſo would be very grateful to the Merchants here, that have Concerns there.

As for what the *Confiderators* inſinuate, As if the Reſtoring of the Charters of *New England* would *Expoſe* them to dangers from the French, and make them independent on the Crown of England; The truth is much otherwiſe. If they have their Charters reſtored they are like with God's Bleſſings, and by his Majeſties Royal Favour and Protection, to do well, but if not reſtored, the diſcouragement of the
People

⁵³ A law againſt piracy was paſſed October 15th, 1673. Maſſ. Records, Vol. iv, part ii, p. 563. ⁵⁴ Here again a line at the top of the page is miſſing.

People will be so great and General, as that they will be in danger of becoming a Prey to the *French*, and to be utterly ruined.

They are by their Charters dependant on the Crown of England, and as an acknowledgment thereof, are to pay the fifth part of all Ore of Gold, and Silver there found, to the King, and hold their title of Land, as of the Mannor of *East Greenwich* in *Kent*, and in Common Soccage, and they are equally subject to Acts of Parliament, with the other Plantations, and can make no Laws repugnant to those of England, and when any have been thought to be so, they have repealed them; and all their Courts are held, and all Writs issued out, and all Offices even to that of a Constable, are executed in the Kings Name.

These Men say. That if in *New-England* they shall be at liberty to exercise their unlimited and Arbitrary Power, they will draw thither the Inhabitants, and especially the Manufacturing People of *England* who will find it more easie to live there, than in their Native Countrey which is an unsufferable Reflection upon the Government of *England* As if People could live more easie under an unlimited and Arbitrary Power elsewhere, than under the regular Government of *England*.

As to the matter of *the Mines*, many things which the *Considerators* affirm, are not true; for they say several Persons did subscribe to carry on that affair, near 100 000*l.* when as it was very little above half the sum: Also that they have laid out considerable summs of Money in Experiments, and to obtain a Charter of Incorporation; but we cannot find that they have expended upon Experiments above 10*l.* They likewise say, That the *New-England Men pretend, that when their Old Charter* is restored, the King hath no Immunities

nities to grant there ; which is a malicious and unjust Asperſion on the *New-England Men*. And whereas they aſſert, that if the Undertakers be encouraged, it may *reasonably be expected*, that *that Plantation would more enrich this Kingdom*, than all his Majeſties *besides*. This is a ſtrong Argument for the Reſtoring their Charters for fundry Perſons of Quality reſuſed to joyn in that Undertaking, becauſe the Government of *New-England* was changed : Whereas their Charters being Reſtored, many of the preſent Subſcribers will go on and encreaſe their Subſcriptions, and many other conſiderable Perſons will joyn with them, the former Government of *New-England* having taken care by their Laws to encourage⁵⁵ themſelves very forward to Nominate a Governour for *New-England*, under a Pretence of having Concerns in that Countrey when in truth they have none.

At Laſt the *Conſiderators* boldly affirm, *That ſhould the Charters for Plantations be Reſtored to the Eſtate in which they were, Anno 1660. then all the Grants made by Governours ſince ſuch Charters were ſeized would revert, and many Families be ruined thereby, as having laid out their Subſtance in clearing ſuch Tracts of Land.*

If this be intended for *New-England*, it is very inſignificant, for the *Arbitrary Government*, which theſe Men ſo much admire, hath not been there three years,⁵⁶ and no Tracts of Land have been cleared ſince that Time. However, if any have been enriched by invading other Men's Eſtates, and will be impoveriſhed by the true Proprietors enjoying their own again, muſt that be an obſtruction to the Reſtoring of their Charters ? with the loſs whereof the People have been

⁵⁵ Here a line ſeems miſſing, though we do not think it is by an error of our tranſcriber. The ſenſe would ſeem to be "having taken care by their Laws to encourage [all ſuch. Yet theſe men are] themſelves very forward," &c.

⁵⁶ This date and phraſe point to 1688 as the date of the Tract. Andros was firſt appointed in June, 1686. Mather arrived in London in May, 1688 ; and may have inſpired, if he did not compile this Vindication.

been told, they have lost all Title to Liberty and Property, and accordingly the Proprieties of several have been seized.

These *Considerators* seem to be some ill men, that are desirous, by Mines, supposed to be in that Country, to raise themselves upon the Ruines of other Men's Estates, though in order thereto they enslave the Protestant-people of *New-England* among whom, there is not one known Papist, excepting some now in Government there.

All the Charters of *New-England* one only excepted, are still in force ; there having been no judgment against them, nor Surrender of them made or Recorded ; and by their Charters they have Power to choose their own Governours, and Magistrates, as much as any Towns Corporate, or Cities here in *England*, have Power to choose their own Maior and Aldermen. Besides, must those Colonies in *New-England*, be the only ones excepted from Indemnity, and all other Corporations supposed to have been without fault ? And must they alone remain sorrowful for the loss of what is so valuable to them ? who at their own vast Charges, and great Hazards subdued a Wilderness, and with the loss of many hundreds of their Lives, have maintained and defended it, to the enlargement of the King's Dominions ; hoping, as in Reason they might, that their Posterity should enjoy the benefit thereof ? So that to deprive them of their Charters, is to deal more hardly, than to do the like with any Bodies Politick in *England*.⁵⁷

As to the other Pamphlet newly come forth, called, *An Abstract of Laws in New-England, not agreeable with the Laws*

⁵⁷ It would seem that the Considerations were printed before the Vindication ; yet while this reprint has been in the printer's hands, we have received a transcript of a Reply to the Vindication, which will be found in this volume

at page 135 et seq. That Reply recapitulates all the accusations, and would seem to be the original at which the Vindication was aimed, but for the fact that it is called a "Reply." Possibly the Consideration was circulated in manuscript ;

Laws of England: The first Law they take notice of is a Fiction of their own, the rest were most of them long since repealed; yea, all that were inconvenient, or esteemed repugnant to the Laws of *England*; and the *Considerators* (whom we must needs suppose to be the Authors of the Abstract) if ever they read the *New-England* Laws, could not be ignorant that the Word *Common-wealth* so much complain'd of, was repealed and obliterated, and the Word *Jurisdiction* inserted instead of it.

As for the Remarks which they may make thereon, they are nothing else but the Ebullitions of a spiteful Spirit, and so notoriously false, as that we think it not worth the while to recite, much less to refute them.

manuscript; but we deem it more probable that there was a first edition, which was cancelled or which has disappeared, after the new and improved version, embodying a Reply to this Tract, was made public. At all events, the

Reply which we print undoubtedly superseded the first form in which the charges were brought against New England, and we need not regret our inability to reprint the "Considerations."

FINIS.



A N S W E R
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS AGENTS
TO
Randolph's Account of the Irregular Trade
Since the Revolution in New-England.

[From the MSS. at the State-House, Boston.]



[From Massachusetts Archives, Inter-Charter Papers, xxxvi. 97-100.]

A N S W E R

To Mr. Randolph's Account of the Irregular Trade since the Revolution in New-England.

*To the Right Honorable the Lords of their Majestys most
Honorable Privy Council.*

An Answer to Mr. Edward Randolph's Account of the
Irregular Trade carried on since the late Revolution, by the
Inhabitants of New-England, &c., Humbly presented by
the Agents of the Massachusetts Colony.

May it please your Lordships.



THE government of the Massachusetts have from
time to time declared that they would strictly
observe the Acts of trade & Navigation: And
that none might pretend ignorance published
the s^d Acts and declared that they would assist
his Majesty Officers and encourage Informers in the prosecu-
tion of the breaches there of: And have acted accordingly.
The Governor is annually Sworne by a particular Oath to
the faithfull discharge of his trust therein. The government
and Inhabitants in generall have no advantage by any Irre-
gular trade but the Offenders only: whom they have been
and

and will allwaies be ready and forward to find out and punish as the Acts direct. As to M^r Randolphs pretence that his Commission was invalidated by a law made for that purpose, &c. the Law it selfe proves the contrary which is in these words. And for the Incouragement of his Majestys Officer or Officers and all Informers: it is hereby Declared that s^d Officer or Officers and Informers shall from time to time be aided and assisted by all marshals Constables and other Officers by warrant from the Govern^r Deputy=gover^r or any magistrate in the prosecution of the Breaches of the s^d acts of trade and Navigation. It is very probable M^r Randolph was displeased at this Law because it was his desire and Interest that no Informer should be allowed besides himselfe. But the govern^r being desirous that those Acts might be duly and Impartially observed did thereby Intend to Incourage others to Informe Judging that agreeable to the direction of the s^d Acts: & the surest way to prevent the eluding of the s^d Acts by Bribery & Corruption. It's true M^r Randolph seized and prosecuted severall vessells and goods for Irregular trading: but upon the tryall (as we understood) his proofes were so very defective that the Jurys could not find for his ma^y. And it was generally understood in the Colony that he did it purposely to bring an Odium upon the Government: the better to effect the designe in which he was engaged of destroying their Charter and all the Rights & privileges there of. And divers Credible persons in New England have affirmed they knew M^r Randolph notoriously guilty of Bribery and Corruption. And that upon that account he lett Severall Offenders goe unpunished which we doe not doubt but they will be ready to prove if competent time for such purpose be allowed by your Lordships.

And whereas he saith the cheife end of his Imprisonment upon y^e Late Revolution was to restore a free trade to them selves &c. And that his only Crime was his strict prosecuting

ing the Offenders upon the breach of the Acts of trade &c.

We humbly offer that M^r Randolph was the person Im-
ployed in the two last Reigns to prosecute Quo Warranto's
and destroy the Charters in New England And in setting up
an Arbitrary Govern^t there which he effected against the
Massachusetts Colony. And that the many false Informations
and misrepresentations of that Govern^t exhibited by him
were great Occasions of those Violent prosecutions against
the Charter. The s^d M^r Randolph also procured to himselfe
the Office of Secretary and to be one of the Councill, which
Councille tooke upon them to make Laws and Levy mony
without an Assembly or any consent of their Majestys sub-
jects: He was also very active in destroying the propertys of
his Majestys subjects in New England. Begging their Lands
of S^r Edmond Andros in severall places and endeavouring
to force the Inhabitants to become tennants to the Late
King James under such Quit Rents as S^r Edmond Andros
should please to lay upon them after compelling them to
take new grants of their Lands pretending all to be the
Kings and making them pay unreasonable summes of mony
for their pretented pattents. These were the true Reasons
why he among others of that Government (of whom he was
one of the most malicious and active) was Imprisoned: and
not his being concerned about prosecuting the breaches of
the Acts of trade as he pretends: The Other Officers for
that affaire being continued in their places and charged
diligently to attend their duty by the present government
there.

The merch^{ts} in New England are far from diminishing the
Revenue of the Crowne for they fetch in their Tobacco from
Virginia and there pay to their Majesty one peny per pound
for all they take on board which is the full value of the
Loading there. And at Barbados and the other Islands they
pay

pay to their Majestys the Duty upon Sugars &c before they can bring them from thence. And these goods they cannot ship off but for England Wales or Berwick; And here they pay to their Majestys the full duty as if nothing had been paid before so that their Circular trade brings in for Revenue to the Crowne double to any other of their Majestys plantations. And if they carry their Tobacco to Holland they pay three times as much as others their Majestys Subjects do.

Mr Randolph is pleased in his paper to take what liberty he thinks fit in commending himselfe and reflecting upon the present government of the Massachusetts Colony. But we hope no part of his Charge shall be taken to be true further than he can make it out by proofs. Because tho' he begin his paper with that Specious pretence of zeale for their majestys Interest it all ends in his owne And in a desire to be put into an Impleymēt.

As to Mr Randolphs acco^t of the severall ships and vessells trading Irregularly in the ports of Boston, Salem New: London &c. in New England since the 18 of Aprill 1689 It cannot be expected that we at this distance from New England can be provided Suddainly to give an acco^t of the particular Loadings of all these Vessells or indeed that such were there. Here being but very few persons of New England now in towne by whom we might Informe our selves:⁵⁸ But from w^t we have it is humbly offered.

That the Ketch whereof Joseph Thaxter was master having

⁵⁸ As a mere memorandum of persons who were in London about the time of this reply, we may cite a notification of Mr. Secretary Blathwayt, preserved in Mass. Archives. It is a notice to the following persons to come before the Lords of Trade, &c., 29th May, 1690. Col. Stoughton, Elifha Cooke, Increase

Mather, Thomas Oakes, Joseph Dudley, Daniel Cox, Robert Wolley, Charles Lidgett, John Usher, Thomas Brinley, William Crouch, Edward Hutchinson, John Ellis, Epaphras Shrimpton, Jeremiah Johnson, and any others concerned in New England and New York.

ing loaden in Virginia or Mary=Land arrived at Boston soon after the Revolution declaring that they were bound for England and put in there only to furnish them selves with necessaries for their Voyage & accordingly Sailed from thence with the Same Loading: so that it is evident that Virginia or Mary Land was the place where he ought to give bond and not Boston as M^r Randolph would Insinuate.

The Pinke whereof Will. Blake was master Loaded also in Virginia or Maryland and was bound for England but Springing a Leake at Sea came to Boston to preserve themselves & Cargoe and refitt the ship: But after they had been somtime there the ship Sunke in the Dock. And if the Tobacco was taken out we suppose it was to seperate the damnified from the Sound. And the Government there declared the ship with her Cargoe ought to proceed her Voyage for England And both Ship and Cargoe were there in aprill Last.

Shute carried Fish but we know not of any tobacco. test. Sam^l Turell.

The ship Pellican was a banker brought in by a Dutch privateer and bought at Salem to goe against the French at Accada and fitted for that designe under the command of Capt. Cyprian Southaike Commissioned by the Lords of the Admiralty: test. Capt. Bant M^r Welstead & M^r Nicholson.

As to the severall vessells said to come from Newfound Land we know of no other goods they brought but fish and traine Oyle: And if such a quantity of Brandy was by them Imported as M^r Randolph would seem to Intimate Doubtless it would be designed for merchandise: when as som of us certainly know that the Last winter we could not get a Cask of French Brandy in all Boston for our mony: test. George Nicholson Will. Welsted & Epaphras Shrimpton.

The Barke Elizabeth: Caleb Lamb master came from Tarcera to Newhaven in Connecticut Colony and from thence to Boston: test. Will. Welsted.

Andrew

Andrew Dolberry brought a Cleering from some Port in England which he shewed to the Governor: as the Governor declared to the Councill.

The Ketch Unity: we know nothing of, but if shee came from Pensilvania the government there were concerned to take Bond and not that of Boston.

The two ships said to come from Jerfey Cleared at Dartmouth and went with the New England Fleet under Convoy from Plymouth: test: Capt. Bant and M^r George Nicholson.

The ship of 150 tunns said to goe directly from Holland to New=London in Connecticut Colony and thence to Barbados we know nothing of but are Informed that no such ship was arrived at Barbados when the Last fleet came thence. test. Sam^l Turell.

The ketch George: Andrew Elliott master said to come from Newfound Land with wine oyle and Brandy Sailed from Pensilvania not from Newfound Land to Boston: test. Sam^l Turell, but her Loading we know not.

If Rob^t Glanvill be gon to Virginia and Loads there And goe from thence to Scotland we conceive that will not affect the goverment in New England if they in Virginia should neglect their duty.

The seisure of the ship Fortune of Courland we know not. But the s^d ship the voyage before was allowed to Load at Boston by S^r Edmond Andros. And after the Revolution coming from Barbados againe to New England: M^r Shrimpton desired liberty to Load her as before, but the Government would not allow it as being contrary to the Act of Trade. And therefore the ship never came within Command but went to the Bay of Campeach. And the supposed Tobacco was provisions for her voyage thither. test. Will. Welsteed: Ephraim Shrimpton.

The Ketch Mayflower Percival Miller master brought a Clearing from Beawmorris which he shewed to the gover^r of Boston.

The

The Pink Endeavour John Brakenburg master her Loading we know not. Nor whence she arrived at Boston.

The Briganteen Mary: Thomas Carter, master said to goe from Holland directly to Boston: went from Holland to Dover and there Cleared and from thence to Boston: Neither was John Borland in the said vessell: test. Capt. Bant: M^r Nicholson.

The Salem Ketch also Cleared in England and went with the New England fleet from Plymouth: test. Capt. Bant: & George Nicholson.

Will: Clutterbuck from the Canaries his ship and Cargoe of wine was under a seisure at Boston in Aprill last in order to a tryall: test: Will: Welsteed.

The Ketches said to be upon the Coast from the Canaries if arrived are doubtless seised as well as Clutterbuck.

M^r Dolberry was at Boston in Aprill last. Not knowne to be preparing for any voyag: therefore not likely to be now at Glasgow. test. Will. Welsteed.

John Lawfon master of the two brothers was seised at Bilboa as bringing thither Contraband goods from New England: which was occasioned (as is said) by M^r Randolphs Information but upon more strict enquiry no such matter appeared and the ship and security was dismissed: test. M^r Shrimpton M^r Murritt: M^r John Ive, M^r Usher.

The Ketch Jonathan went from Fyal to Holland test. Capt. Bant.

M^r Nelsons Briganteen was in Barbados february Last: test. Sam.^l Turell and if she goe to Virginia the Officers there, and not in New England will be concerned in her voyage thence.

Nathan Stanbury we know not whither gone. Christopher Clarke is gone to Holland to be master of a ship bound to Surinam and thence to Holland againe in the employment of M^r Greenwood of London a freeman of the Surinam Company: test. Will. Harris.

The

The Pinke from the Straits we know nothing of, neither is it Likely the Capt. of the Castle should know w^t is in the ship as she passes by.

Hides have been brought out of the West Indias to New England and thence Shipped for England which we humbly conceive is no breach of the act of trade.

We know nothing of M^r Howards tobacco but if what is asserted be true how can that and many other of M^r Randolphs Charges affect the Government unless Complaint had been made to them And afterwards they neglect their duty.

By w^t is above written it^s evident that many of M^r Randolphs articles in his acco^t are fallacious and severall of them most untrue which gives us cause to thinke the rest are of the same nature.

vera Copia.

all which is humbly submitted,
Henry Ashhurst.
Elisba Cooke.
Increase Mather.
Thomas Oakes.



A
SHORT DISCOURSE,

Shewing the great Inconvenience of joyning
the Plantation CHARTERS with those of
England, &c.

CONTAINING

A full ANSWER to a late Pamphlet Intituled,
NEW-ENGLAND Vindicated, &c.



A Short
DISCOURSE⁵⁹

SHEWING

The great Inconvenience of joyning the Plantation
CHARTERS with those of ENGLAND

in the *General Act* of *Refloation*, and the Necessity of
having for them a *Particular ACT*.

Humbly Offered to the Parliament on the Occasion of that *BILL*.
Wherein is Contained,

A full ANSWER to a late Pamphlet Intituled,
NEW-ENGLAND Vindicated, &c.

By a true Lover of his Country, and a hearty Wisher of the
Prosperity of the said *PLANTATIONS*.



THE Bill now depending in the Honourable House of Commons, for restoring Charters to the state they were in, in the year 1660, is, perhaps, as necessary a Law, as any amongst the many excellent ones the Parliament have passed this Sessions; yet, if it should include (as it appears by the Votes it is design'd to do) those charters of the foreign Plantations (which were taken away on quite different Reasons from

⁵⁹ This tract is reprinted from a manuscript of a copy in the British Museum, (prefs mark $\frac{9325 f}{7}$) The original is a tract of four pages folio, without a separate title page.

from these in *England*, as will appear by and by, and highly agreeable to the sense of former Parliaments) it might prove, in a few years, as prejudicial to *England*, by ruining the Trade, Navigation, and Staple Manufactures thereof, as the breach of all the others could do. And this will appear to any Rational Man, who will consider.

The great Powers granted to some of those Foreign Plantations, but more particularly, that of the *Massachusetts* Colony in *America* (who affect to call themselves by the general Name of *New-England* though they are not above a tenth of those Colonies which go under that denomination) the Inconveniences of which, could not be so well foreseen, until they began to grow somewhat numerous; and then it was so obvious, that the Parliament in King *Charles* I. time, presented it as one of the greatest grievances of the Kingdom, and Contrary to the Law and Privileges of the Subjects; the Parliament doubting, they would in a short time wholly shake off the Royal Jurisdiction. But the King having granted it, thought it a diminution to his Prerogative to have it question'd. And so Dissolving the Parliament, and the Wars breaking out, nothing was done in it until *Charles* II. his Restoration, when immediately he and his Council, began to be sensible of the great mischief, those Plantations in *America*, did to the Trade of *England*, and the Unlimited Authority some of them pretended to exercise, as well among themselves, as over their weaker Neighbours; And vast numbers of complaints came daily over, as well of their (*viz* the *Massachusetts*) Incroachments on their said Neighbours, with Petitions for Redress, from the Colonies so grieved; as also of their Abominable, Illegal way of Trade. As to the Trade, the Parliament took it into consideration, and made several Laws to Regulate it; as the Act of Navigation, in the 12th of the said King; and others made in the 22^d. and 23^d, and 25th of the same King. But the Government of
the

Vide Sir Ferdinando Gorges Account of New-England, p. 43.

the Maffachufets Colony, being in the hands of thofe who were the principal Offenders, thofe Acts had no effect there, though 'tis worth obferving, that they in the year 1663, made a Law, That the faid Act of Navigation fhould be obferved there; which plainly demonftrates, that they think the Laws of *England* of no force there, unlefs confirmed by their General Court, (as indeed appears by their firft law, in their Law Book, Printed in the year 1672. by Authority of their faid General Court, viz *That no Law fhall be fubmitted to, but what is made in their General Court.*) But this was only a Colour, for it was never known either that any of their Governours, whatever they may pretend who were Chofen by their Charter, did take the Oath prefcribed in that Act, or that any man was ever punifhed by Vertue of it though the Offences were as frequent as before. And when thefe, and all other the Law of Trade were broken, as they were daily, no Redrefs could be had, for the Perfons offending, were thofe chiefly concerned in the Government. Thefe innumerable complaints put the King to vaft expence, to maintain Perfons in feveral places of *Europe*, as *France*, *Hamborough*, *Holland &c.* to detect their Illegal Traders, after by long Experience, having found it impracticable in *New-England*, by reason of the largenefs of the Country, and the many Navigable Rivers there. But after fuch detection, no Redrefs could be had, or indeed expected, from Perfons who muft be Party, Judge, and Jury, and whose Determinations there are final, for they will allow of no Appeal to *England*, as all other the Plantations do, and ought to fubmit to, which makes them as abfolutely Independant on the Crown of *England*, as are the fubjects of any other Prince. And this made them boldly employ two or three hundred Sail of Ships yearly. Trading to and fro from the feveral Plantations, and moft parts of *Europe*, fupplying thofe feveral places with fuch Commodities, as ought by Law, to be had from

from no place but *England*, or paying *English* duties ; and this without being under the Restrictions of such Laws, as put our Merchants to vast Charges, either by customs, or otherwise, which inabled them to undersell our *English* Merchants 50 *per cent.* at least, to the unspeakable prejudice of the Kings Customs, and the decay of our Manufactures, as well as an Infallible Bait to all our Manufacturers to remove thither, where People trade with such advantage over their fellow Subjects.

But why do I call them Subjects, when indeed they Act as a Free and Independant *Commonwealth*, as they in their Law-book stile themselves, (though I am not ignorant that a certain Person has lately, with as much confidence as falsity, affirmed that word *Commonwealth* to be repealed) And this is what the Parliament in K. *Charles* I. time did suspect, and thereupon all Persons were Prohibited going hither, without first taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy ; but this was never observed.

Now to shew the unlimited Authority they pretend to, in some few of those many Instances might be produced.

Vide Law Book,
p. 43, 45, 45, 55,
56, 58.

1. They took upon them to coyn Money in the Name of the *Commonwealth* as they call it.

2. To make severall Laws sufficiently repugnant to those of *England*, especially in matters of religion, as well as making many Offences Capital, which are not so in *England* (though this was absolutely against the very words of their Charters) as may be seen, for the more ease, in an abstract of some of their Laws lately Printed, and presented to the Members of the Honourable House of Commons.

3. Their Arbitrary and Barbarous usage of the Kings Commanders of his Ships: To instance particularly, Sir *John Weybourn*, who they dragged about by the Hair of the Head, and beat most Inhumanly ; for which, neither he nor the King could have any satisfaction. And they shew themselves

selves excellent observers of the Laws of Navigation, when they cannot distinguish the Kings Ships, and Legal Traders, from Pirates, which is the weak pretence made use of, by he who calls himself the *New-England Vindicator*, to palliate this horrid usage of the Kings Commanders, and excuse their giving entertainment of a quite different nature to Pirates.

4. They Arbitrarily, and with force, intruded on their Neighbour Colonies, and on their Complaint to the King, they refused his Commissioners sent to determine the difference occasioned thereby, as may be seen in M^r *Ogilby's* History of *America* p. 164. & 165. where he sets forth,⁶⁰ how
in

⁶⁰ This reference is to John Ogilby's *America*, (folio, London, 1671). The transaction meant, is the extension of the authority of Massachusetts over Maine in 1688, concerning which our historians all speak. Williamson and Hutchinson both give interesting particulars, and cite as one authority Jocelyn's "Two Voyages," in which a brief and spiteful statement is made. As we do not find this more amplified and distorted statement of Ogilby quoted anywhere, we transcribe the passage.

"In the Year of our Lord 1665, his Majesties Commissioners for the Affairs of *New-England*, being in the Province of *Mayne*, the People being much unsettled in Point of Government, by reason the *Massachusetts* Colony, or *Boston* Government, did usurp compulsively a Power over them contrary to their wills; and the right of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Heir, who had his Commission then in the place, did unanimously Petition to his Majesties Commissioners to settle the Government; upon which the said Commissioners examin'd the Bounds and Right of Mr. *Gorges* Patent, with all the Allegations

and Pretensions on both sides, and so according to their Instruction from his Majesty, did settle a temporary Government under his Majesty's immediate Authority, until such time as his Majesty should give his final determination thereof; and for that end did Institute Judges of the Peace to Govern the Province according to the true Laws of *England*. Also his Majesty was pleas'd by his *Mandamus* in *April* 1666, to the Governors of *Boston*, to signify that it was his will and pleasure, That the Province of *Main* should stand good as his Commissioners had settled it, until he had more leisure to determine it; yet notwithstanding, after three years quiet possession, and exercising of Government by the Kings Justices, according to their Commission granted by his Majesty's Commissioners, the *Bostoners*, without any Conference with the said Justices, did in a hostile manner oppose the King's Power, *July* 1668, which was as followeth:

"The General Court of *Boston* sent their Warrants to keep Court at *York* under their Authority, and for that purpose Commissionated Magistrates by their

in the years 1665. & 1668., they in a Warlike manner, with Horfe and Foot, turned the Kings Juftices out of their Seats at *Boston*, who had been three years Impowered, and quietly Executed their Truft, to keep matters in Peace, till the difference between the Colonies was Adjusted: Sat down in their Places, Executed their own Commiffion from the General

their own Authority, namely Major General *John Leveret*, Mr. *Edward Ting*, Captain *Richard Walden* and Captain *Robert Pike*: Whereupon the King's Juftices did oppofe their Warrants, and fent Poft to *New York*, with an Addrefs to General *Nicholas* for Advice what to do therein; who forthwith difpatch'd away to the Governors of *Boston*, informing them of the danger of their Proceeding, it being an open breach of Duty, to fubvert the Government eftablifh'd by his Majefty's Power; alfo fent the King's *Mandamus*, April 1666, that will'd to the contrary. Notwithstanding, the *Boston* Magiftrates in July 1668, in order to their *Boston* Commiffion, came to *York Town* in the faid Province, with feveral Armed Men, Horfe and Foot, to keep Court under their Authority; Oppofition was made by the King's Juftices and his Majefty's Power was urg'd, but little regard thereunto fhewn; his Majefties *Mandamus* was likewife much infifted upon and produced by the Juftices, who ask'd the *Bostoners* what they thought of it? and how they durft act fo contrary to the King's Will and Pleafure? Major General *Leveret* told them, That he believ'd it might be the King's Hand, but he had a Commiffion from the general Court at *Boston*, which he would follow and obferve by the help of God. The fame day in the afternoon the faid Major General *Leveret*, with the reft of the *Boston* Magiftrates, feiz'd and imprifon'd the Province Marfhal in doing

his Office, and then forthwith went in warlike pofture to the Court-houfe, where the King's Juftices fat in Judicature, and putting them from their Seats, fat down themfelves in their Places, and Executed their *Boston* Commiffion. The King's Juftices drew a *Proteft* againft their Proceedings, and fo left the Decision to God's Providence and his Majefty's good Pleafure. Then they turn'd out all Officers, both Military and Civil, and Swore others in their Places under their Authority; they forc'd the whole Record of the Province out of the Recorder's Houfe contrary to his Will, by virtue of a Special Warrant from that Court. They imprifon'd the Mayor of the faid Province about three weeks, forcing him to give in five hundred Pound Bonds, not to act according to his Commiffion; which with fome Refervations he was forc'd to deny for the fecurity of his Eftate.

"Thefe riotous Proceedings thus acted with fuch a precipitate fury, fo incenf'd his Majefty, that speedy care had been taken to reduce them to reafon, had they not upon mature confideration bethought themfelves afterwards to yield Obedience to his Majefties Orders."

We beg the reader to place befide this tirade, the calm and dignified report of the three Maffachufetts Commiffioners, printed in *Hutchinfon's Hiftory*, Vol. i, pp. 262-7.

General Court, Imprison'd the Kings Provost Marshal ; and committed several other Notorious Affronts to the King, by his Minister, as is more at large in the Book itself. These Commissioners of the Kings, who were sent to determine the Differences between the Colonies, were Authorized to do it by their Sound Discretion, which the said Vindicator calls illegal and Arbitrary, and such as could not be submitted to : Whereas they could possibly be Determined no otherwise than by their Discretion, on View and Examination, for they were matters of difference between distinct Colonies, relating to their several Bounds and Limits of their Jurisdiction, which could not be determined by any other Law but that of Reason.

They have often said since that Vote passed, That if their Charter was restored, the King of *England* had nothing to do there ; and that if he did send any such thing as a Governor thither, he should not be obeyed : Nay, one of them, who is a great Proprietor in a Colony there, and were there occasion, should be named, did say to a Person that is not ashamed or afraid to declare it. That *what Power soever the King of England had formerly in——Himself now had ; And that no Governor should be Obeyed there.*

For these and several other notorious Abuses (not to be prevented so long as the Supream Governing Power is in that People) it was that the King was forced to advise how to reduce them to Obedience, and no way was thought so proper as to vacate their Charter, for their acting so much beyond the Powers therein granted, though they were so large as to be thought Grievances by Parliament as above, and not on the Measures these Charters of *England* were taken away ; and therefore, as I humbly conceive, ought to be further considered, before they be restored to that Power which may soon give them opportunity of setting up for themselves, as the Parliament formerly feared.

These

These *New-England* Gentlemen on thoughts of being restored, immediately cast off all Proposals with the Subscribers for working Copper Mines in their Country, in hopes of getting it into their Power once again to prosecute their old way of Trade: And now I have mentioned the Copper Mines, I doubt not but the Parliament will take into their Consideration the great Advantage that Work may be to *England*, since it is none of the Product of *England*, and will not only be a sufficient Employment and Staple Commodity for that Country, the want of which forces them to seek those illegal ways formerly mentioned; But if this be well encouraged, and the Subscribers secured by having the Government of it here, and not subject to those in *New-England*, may prove of unspeakable return to this Kingdom, (when as at present those Colonies serve only to exhaust us of our People, run away with our Trade, and put us to great Expence to maintain them without bringing in any considerable profit) as is with highest Probabilities believed by the most understanding Men amongst the Subscribers; who notwithstanding the false Suggestions of the *New-England* Vindicator have really spent above £500 in Experiments, and soliciting a Charter; and who, were the Charter Sealed, would in a very little time make up that Sum already Subscribed £100 000. or more if there were occasion, as was agreed amongst them when they shut up their Books after about 60 Thousand, which was only Subscribed as an Earnest to give them a Title to act as Members of that Society, with resolution to make up the said sum a £100 000, when the Charter was passed: And so horridly false was the said Vindicators Pretence, that several persons of Quality refused to come into the Subscription, because the Government of these Colonies were altered, that on the contrary every one refused to come in so soon as they apprehended their Charter was like to be restored, and immediately on that Vote of the Honourable

Honourable House of Commons, there was a general Meeting of the Subscribers, where the thoughts of their being stated in their former Powers, and their declaring that the King now had nothing to grant them, had like to have dissolved the Society, who at this time only defer that Dissolution, in hopes the Parliament will take them into Consideration, by providing for them in the Act, or leaving room for the King to grant such Privileges as shall be thought requisite for so great an Undertaking; resolving otherwise, to have nothing to do with men so wedded to their own interest, at such a distance, and not to be controuled by any Power in *England*.

A further Reason for not restoring their Charters without some Limitations and Powers reserved in the Government, is the great Danger of all those Plantations falling into the hands of the *French*; for should their several Charters be restored by a General Act, they would as formerly be divided into 8 or 10 several Independent Governments, so far from being able, or so much as willing to unite against a common Enemy, That they never was or ever can be at Peace amongst themselves, perpetually Quarrelling with one another about Bounds, Limits, and Jurisdictions; nay the differences of Religion in the several Colonies raises them to such an inveteracy against one another, that when one of the Colonies was fighting against the *Indians*, and wanted Provision, and another Colony, being of a different Perswasion in Religion, out of pure Charity sent them some, a Dispute arose amongst them whether they shall Eat thereof because it came from an unsanctified People, but their Stomachs produced a Dispensation, and they after long debate fell on: The Fable of the bundle of Arrows needs no application here. But it is well enough known that it cannot be in the power of the *French* to injure these Plantations, if several of them were joyn'd under one entire Superintendancy, accord-
ing

ing as may be most conveniently disposed, and this will put them in a Capacity to resist a common Enemy, and determine on the place all Differences arising between the several Jurisdictions, and on this account without any other, all rational men must and do think themselves and their effects much safer under the present sort of Government than formerly (not to excuse the Governour if he has done any unjust Acts, for which he is answerable,) and that is more than the Charter-Government will allow of, there being no Appeal from them.

Besides let the *New-England* Vindicator pretend what he will, if these Charters be restored in general terms, it must necessarily ruin many Families, who have laid out all their Substance in improving such lands as they were necessitated to accept of a Title for, from the present Government, and great Confusions must arise in Disputes about Titles and several other matters, which will all be prevented or determined by such a Superintendancy as is above mentioned, not to prejudice any Man or Body-Corporate in their just Proprieties and reasonable and convenient Privileges.

☞ Last of all it must be remembred, that the restoring these Charters, without Limitation to the state they were in, in the Year 1660, with all the Powers and Privileges they then enjoyed, does not in effect repeal (as to what relates to them) the Act of Navigation, and all other Acts made since the year 1660, to restrain their Illegal Trade ; the Dangerous Consequence of which may be seen in the Preambles of those Acts.

On the whole therefore, 'tis humbly Offered as the most Safe and Advantagious way for the Interest of *England*, that the Charters of the Plantation may be restored by an Act on purpose, and not by the General Act with these in *England*, they being quite of a different nature, and that there be in their Act, (1) Such Restrictions as shall in your great Wif-

doms

doms seem necessary as to the Government, to keep it dependant on *England*, and subject to be called in question on any Irregularities, by Appeal or otherwise to England. (2) Some sort of Indemnity or else Power to punish or forgive such past Misdemeanours as shall seem requisite. (3) With a confirmation of such Titles as shall appear to be reasonable in your said wisdom: To which might be added, a vast number of weighty things, fitter for the consideration of a Committee for that purpose, than the thoughts of any private person.

Thus the Plantations may, as at first designed, yearly produce a prodigious Income to their mother *England*, not without a proportionable return of Nourishment from her, which they must not be suffered to get into a capacity of refusing.

FINIS.



NOTE.

⁶² The opening words of the foregoing Reply seem to afford us the necessary clue to the approximate date of the publication of this pamphlet. On the 18th October, 1688, James issued a proclamation for restoring to Corporations their former charters, liberties, rights and franchises. (Mather Papers, p. 713.) In the "Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather," p. 112-13, it is said that he presented to King James on the 2nd of July, 1688, a Memorial and Petition, which papers were by PRINCE identified as those recently printed in the "Mather Papers," pp. 699-702. At that time Mather "could not now propose the Restoration of the Condemned & Vacated Charters"; but did propose other measures of relief for the colonists.

It seems therefore reasonable to presume that after July, 1688, in the three months during which the fear of the enterprise of the Prince of Orange compelled James to adopt conciliatory measures, Mather altered his opinion and strove to have the Massachusetts Charter included in the act of restoration. This movement, made probably in common with the agents of the other colonies, would have called out the "Considerations" against granting any of these charters, and this would be the first edition, to which we have referred in note 57.

This would make Mather's Vindication, and the supposed prior Remonstrance of the Considerators, both refer to an attempt made late in the year 1688, to procure a restoration of the Charter from King James.

Mather in his accounts of his acts as agent, has said little about this transaction, for obvious reasons. He claims much praise, however, for his attempts to obtain a restoration of the Charter from King William, and says that he had nearly succeeded with the Convention Parliament. "Mr. Mather made most Indefatigable Applications unto the Principal Men in that Convention Parliament, the Effect of which was That in the *House of Commons*, the Charters of New-England were expressly put into the *Charter-Bill*: It was Voted, That the taking of them away was a *Grievance*, and that they should be *Restored*. And a great Interest was also made in the *House of Lords*, that when the Bill should come up to them for their Concurrence, *New-England* might be there also Favoured. At the same time (July 4, 1689) Mr. Mather was again Introduced by the Lord Wharton unto the King at Hampton Court." (REMARKABLES, p. 122.)

We have now arrived at a certain date for the "Reply," as it expressly refers to the Charter Bill then pending before Parliament, and was therefore published after July, 1689, and before January 10th, when the Bill was voted on in the House of Commons. This Corporation Bill was indeed a famous one: MACAULAY devotes several pages of the fifteenth chapter of his third volume, to a notice of the contest concerning it. It was made a test question between the Whigs and Tories, and the Tories succeeded in striking out two important clauses when a vote was reached on the 10th of January, 1690. Although MACAULAY neglects to state the fate of the main bill, Mather states that his section was lost by the prorogation of Parliament "while the Charter Bill was Depending." This was the 27th January, 1690; and Parliament was dissolved a few days later.

It would seem then that in the autumn of 1689, while the Corporation Bill was pending before Parliament, in the session which commenced October 19th, the author of the Considerations took the opportunity to repeat his former arguments, and thus to reply to the "Vindication"; only confining himself in this instance to the question of the Massachusetts Charter.

A BRIEF
RELATION
OF THE
STATE
OF
New England,

From the Beginning of that
PLANTATION
To this Present Year, 1689.

In a Letter to a Person of Quality.

LICENSED, *July* 30th, 1689.

LONDON,
Printed for *Richard Baldwine*, near the *Black Bull*, in the
Old-Baily, 1689.

P R E F A T O R Y N O T E .

⁶³ We have already mentioned in our Note on p. 2, of the present volume, that Increase Mather claimed to be the author of three Vindications of New England ; and we tried to identify them as the tracts published at pp. 19-78, 113-123, and the following "Brief Relation." We assume this to be the third Vindication, because no other pamphlet with that title has been found after a careful search in several libraries most likely to contain it if existing. This "Brief Relation," however, fulfills all the conditions, is evidently a part of the series, and was issued under circumstances which lead us to attribute its publication and inspiration to Increase Mather.

It was licensed July 30th, 1689, when, as we have shown in Note 62, (*ante* p. 143,) Mather was trying to have the Charter restored by a section in the Corporation Bill. It contains a letter from Abraham Kick, a friend and correspondent of Mather's, and it mentions matters, like the College and the Indian Conversions, in which Mather had a peculiar interest.

It is a significant fact, that these items are additions made to the original draft of the pamphlet, and for this reason we feel confident that Mather was the active agent in preparing this plea for publication.

Among the so-called Hutchinson Papers, in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, is the first draft of this Brief Relation, and it has been published in Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 3rd Series, 1, pp. 93-101. The first eight pages there correspond almost exactly with this pamphlet, a few phrases only being altered. The Declaration is new in this, and then after another page, Kick's letter is inserted here, and the rest of the pamphlet is new matter also. In short, the additions double the size of the first draft.

We do not know who wrote this first draft ; it is certainly not in Mather's hand-writing. It contains, however, numerous corrections and interlineations in a different hand, and which make it correspond with this pamphlet.

It follows then, as we have said, that after a first sketch was made, either here or in England, some one altered and greatly added to it in preparing it for the press, and all in aid of Mather's favorite ideas. The inference is unavoidable, that Mather was the real author of this Brief Relation, as it is here given.

We may add, that in the H. S. Collections, the spelling and typography are modernized. The editors of the volume seem to have been unaware of the identity of that Account with this pamphlet.

This "Relation" has been carefully reprinted in FORCE's Historical Tracts, volume fourth.



A BRIEF
RELATION
OF THE
STATE
OF
New England.

HONOURED SIR,



Have received yours, wherein you desire me to give you a Brief Account of the past and present State of *New England*, which in as few words as I can, and as straits of time will permit me, I shall endeavour your Satisfaction in.

New England contains that Tract of Land which is between forty and forty five Degrees of Northern Latitude; It was for some time known by the name of the *Northern Plantation*; but King *Charles* the First (then Prince of *Wales*) gave it the name of *New England*.

The first settlement of the English there, was in the year 1620, viz. at *New Plymouth*.

New

New England differs from other Foreign Plantations, in respect of the Grounds and Motives, inducing the First Planters to remove into that *American Desert*; other Plantations were built upon Worldly Interests, *New England* upon that which is purely Religious; for although they did, and do agree (as is evident from their Printed Confession of Faith) with all other *Protestant Reformed Churches*; and more especially with *England*, in Matters of Doctrin, and in all Fundamental Points of Faith; yet as to the Liturgy, Ceremonies, and Church Government by Bishops, they were, and are *Non-conformists*: It was grievous to them to think of living in continual difference with their Protestant Brethren in *England*; upon which account they resolved on a peaceable SECESSION into a corner of the World; and being desirous to be under the Protection of *England*, about twenty worthy Gentlemen obtained a Charter from King *Charles* the First, bearing date from the year 1628, which giveth them Right to the Soil, for they hold their Titles of Lands, as of the Mannor of *East-Greenwich* in *Kent*, and in Common SOCAGE, which, notwithstanding, they purchased their Lands of the Indians, who were the Native Proprietors: By their mentioned Charter, they are Empower'd to Elect yearly their own Governor, and Deputy-Governor, and Magistrates, as here in *London*, and in other Towns Corporate, the Freemen chuse their Lord Mayors, Mayors, Aldermen, &c.

They have also Power to make such Laws, as shall be most proper and suitable for the Plantation: Nevertheless, as an acknowledgment of *their dependance on England*, by their Charters, they are obliged not to make any Laws, which shall be repugnant to the Laws in *England*.

Also, the fifth part of all *Oar*, of Gold or Silver, found in that Territory, belongs to the Crown of *England*.

The Report of this Charter, did encourage many very deserving

deserving persons to Transplant themselves, and their Families, into *New England*; Gentlemen of Ancient and Worshipful Families, and Ministers of the Gospel, then of great fame here in *England*, Tradersmen, Artificers, and Planters, to the Number of about four thousand did in twelve years time go thither.

The hazards they run, and the difficulties which they encountred with, in subduing a WilderNESS, cannot be easily exprest in a large Tract: But the Almighty God, by a wonderful Providence, carried them through all.

In the year 1637, they were in imminent danger of being cut off by the barbarous Heathen; but when it came to a War, mighty numbers of the Indians were slain, by a few of the English, which caused a terror of God to fall upon the Heathen round about; so that after the *Pequod* Indians were subdued, there was peace in the Land for forty eight years together; and being settled under a good and easie Government, the Plantation increased, and prospered wonderfully; yea, so as cannot be paralleled in any History: never was place brought to such a Considerableness in so short a time; that which was, not long since, a howling WilderNESS, in a few years time, became a pleasant Land, wherein was abundance of all things meet for Soul and Body, which can be imputed to nothing else, but to their Religion, the Gospel bringing a fulness of Blessings along with it: Some have observed, that since the year 1640, more Persons have removed out of *New England*, than have gone thither. Nevertheless, the four thousand, who did, between that and the year 1620, transplant themselves into *New England*, are so marvelously increased, as that, if the Computation fail not, they are now become more than Two hundred thousand Souls.

There are Towns and Villages, on the Sea-Coasts, from *Long Island* to *Boston*, which is Three hundred English Miles,

Miles, and the like from *Boston* to *Pemmaquid*, which is Two hundred Miles more.

In the year 1662, *Conecticut* Colony, as also *Road Island*, with the Plantations thereunto belonging, had Charters granted to them by King *Charles* the Second, being much of the same Tenor with the Patent of the *Massachusetts*, whereby these Colonies were made distinct Government.

In the year 1675, the Indians began a second War with the English; the Issue of which was, that whole Nations of them were destroy'd.

Never did men shew greater Courage and Bravery in their Encounters with the Barbarous Heathen, than they did. Although it must be acknowledged that the *Indians* advantages were such, as they could not have been overcome, if God had not fought against them, by sending the Evil Arrows of Famine, and Mortal Diseases among them. I have often thought of an Expression of an Indian there: *We could easily be too hard for the English, but* (said he, striking on his Breast) *The Englishmens God makes us afraid here.*

As long as they enjoyed their first Government, no Enemies could stand before them; but since that they have not been able to subdue an hundred Indians, who did the last year commit some outrages among them, having been (as I am credibly informed) designedly provoked thereunto by some Injuries done unto them by those then in Power, who intended the Ruine of the English, and Advancement of the French Interest in that Territory.

As for your Enquiry, *By what means they came to be deprived of their Charters, Rights and Liberties*; please to understand, that in the year 1683, a *Quo Warranto* was issued out against them, and with the Notification thereof by the then King's Order there was a Declaration published, enjoying those few particular Persons mentioned in the

Quo

Quo Warranto, to make their defence at their own perticular Charge, without any help by a publick Stock : By this it was easie to see that some Persons were resolv'd to have the Charters condemned, *quo jure quaque injuria* : Nevertheless, the Governor and Company appointed an Attorney to appear, and answer to the *Quo Warranto*, in the Court of King's Bench.

The Profecutors not being able to make any thing of it there, a new Suit was Commenced by a *Scire facias*, in the High Court of Chancery.

But tho they had not sufficient time given them to make their Defence, yet Judgment was entred against them for Default in not appearing; when it was impossible, considering the remote distance of *New England* from *Westminster-hall*, that they should appear in the time allowed.

Thus illegally was the Charter of the *Massachusetts* Colony wrested from them : as for the Colonies of *Plymouth*, *Conecticot*, and *Road Island*, there was never any Judgment against them, nor any Surrender ; but by a mere Rape, in the year 1686, their Charters and Priviledges were violently taken from them.

Since that time the Country hath mightily declined, and gone to ruin daily, not being now like the place it was Five Years ago, which is not much to be wondred at, considering the Intolerable Oppressions they have been Labouring under, since the Charters were Ravished from them.

In the Year 1686, *Sir Edmond Andros*, was sent by the late King *James* to *New England* ; with a Commission absolutely destructive to the fundamentals of the *English* Government, Impowering him with Four more (none of them chosen by the People) to Levy Money, and make Laws, nay, and in case of War in the Plantations to send as many of the Inhabitants as he would, two Thousand Miles out of the Country : This Commission being Illegal and so in it self
void,

void, the People not being able to Continue longer under those Oppressions, did this last Spring assert their English Liberties, Rights and Priviledges, and Unanimously Declare for *the Prince of Orange, and the Parliament of England*.

And it is greatly to be observed, that as long as *New England* enjoyed their Charters for more than Fifty Years together, they never put the Crown of *England* to a Penny Charge; which is more than can be said of any other Foreign Plantations dependant on *England*.

But since they have been under a Government not by *Charters*, but by *Commission*, the Country hath been Chargeable, and less Beneficial to the Kings Revenue than in former times.

It hath indeed been objected, that in *New England* they did many years ago Transgress *the Act of Navigation*. But the Transgression of some few particular Persons ought not to be charged as the fault of the Government there, who did in the Year 1663, make a Law that the Act of Navigation should be Strictly observed, and their Governours are Sworn to see that Law Executed, and have to the uttermost of their power been careful therein.

Many other Things have been suggested against *New England*, the most of which have no footsteps of Truth in them, but being the Malicious Inventions of the *Tobijahs* and *Sanballats* of the Age, are not worth mentioning.

Not but the People there being but Men, have had their failings as well as other Men in all places of the World. The only thing (so far as I can learn) which can with any Colour of Truth be justly reflected on them as a great fault, is that in some matters relating to Conscience and difference of opinion, they have been more rigid and severe than the Primitive Christians or the Gospel doth allow of.

Yet this is to be said in their behalf, that things are reported worse than indeed they were, and that now many
Leading

Leading Men, and the generality of the People are of a more moderate Temper.

I know many that have a great Interest there, do abhor the Spirit of Persecution as much as any Men in the World.

It is certainly for the Interest of *England*, that *New England* be encouraged; and preserved in all their Rights, Privileges and Properties, and those ill Men who have given or shall give contrary advice (notwithstanding all their vain pretences to the contrary) have and will prejudice the Interest of the Crown more than they are, or ever were, or can be able to make amends for: which I evince by the Arguments following.

I. The Kings Revenue, all things considered, is as much or more augmented by *New England*, than by any other of the Foreign Plantations. This will seem to some a strange Assertion: But consider what I say, and then judge if it be not true.

The other *American Plantations* cannot well subsist without *New England*; which is by a Thousand Leagues nearer to them than either *England* or *Ireland*; so that they are supplied with Provisions, Beef, Pork, Meal, Fish, &c. And also with the Lumber Trade, Deal Boards, Pipe-Staves, &c. chiefly from *New England*.

Also the *Caribbee Islands* have their Horses from thence. It is then in a greater part by means of *New England* that the other Plantations are made prosperous and beneficial; they pay Customs in the Plantations for the Goods they Export from thence into *New England*, and when those Goods are brought into *England*, they pay the same again the Second time, by which means not a little is contributed to the Crown.

Some Manufactures there are amongst them, but not a Twentieth part of what the Country hath need of, or is consumed

consumed there, most of their Cloathing as to Woollen and Linnen, all sorts of Upholstery Wares, Haberdashers and Silk Wares, Stuffs, Silks, &c. they have from *England*; and make returns in Plate, Pieces of Eight, Beaver, Moose and Deer Skins, Oyl, and Iron, all which, but the Bullion, the Country affords.

Also by Sugars and Tobacco, Indico, and indeed all the Product of the other Plantations, which with their own Vessels they fetch and transport to *England*.

II. I know not whether in the World there be a better place for shipping, nor can I say how many, (but many hundreds there are) hundreds of Vessels of their own building do belong to the Country, (besides great Numbers built and sold into *England*), for they yearly build many good Ships, some of which for *London*, and other places in *England*.

The Country abounds with Pine-Trees, Excellent Cedars, and Oak for building of Ships, and Ship-Masts in abundance; by those that are proper Judges, the best in the World, and some yearly from thence for the Use of the King's Ships.

And it hath been affirmed by knowing Men in Navigation and Building, that whenever the King of *England* pleases, he may in *New England* on such easie Rates as is scarce imaginable, build Navies of Ships: There being no better Timber in the World, and in such quantities as are inexhaustible, and in such convenient Places, as if God and Nature had adapted these vast Timbers for the said use; which is worth consideration, for that Timber is generally wanting in *England*, and in *Ireland*; what is, is too far from Waters and Places fit for Carriage, and the East-Land Oak is spongy and unfit.

III. The English born in *New England*, have the true inherent Spirit of the *Old*, apt and fit for Martial Employes; and as an addition to their Natural Courage and Sobriety, are well instructed in Martial Discipline.

All

All the Inhabitants from sixteen to sixty Years in each Town, are by the Law and constant Custom of the Country to bear Arms, if occasion shall require, and that they may be fit so to do.

They have in each Town and Village their Training-days, eight Times every Year, wherein they are exercised in Military Discipline, that so they may be expert in War, on all occasions, for their own Defence, and Service of their Prince; who will find whenever he shall please for to command, and commissionate them, that they are able (by the blessing of God) to secure and enlarge his Dominions, and to bring their French Neighbours into an intire Subjection to the Crown of *England*.

And from this Consideration it was, that the French Ministers, (who all the World knows had a mighty Ascendent over *White-Hall*, in the Two Late Kings Reigns) ceased not in their Negotiations, until amongst other Articles agreed on; One was, that in Case of a War betwixt *England* and *France*, there shall be a Neutrality in the Plantations: They wisely foreseeing, that if the King of *England*, should arm and commission his Subjects in *New England*, the Frenchmen in those parts could not stand before them.

In the Time of the Late Protector *Cromwel*, they did by order from *England*, take several Forts from the French, which by King *Charles* the Second were restored to them again; no ways to the Honour or Interest of the English Nation.

And it's hoped, His Majesty and the High Court of Parliament, will put that value upon *New England*, as so vast a Tract of Land and Body of People deserve from a Government on which they depend, and are so great and useful a Member, as they have manifested themselves to be: and that in so Eminent a manner as calls for Protection, Encouragement, and Restauration to all their Rights, Priviledges and Proprieties,

Proprieties, and what Additions more, as in His Majesty great Wisdom, shall be thought fit for his Service, the Protestant Religion and the good of that People; who on the 18th. of *April*, 1689, Unanimously rose in Arms, and after having seized upon their Illegal Governour, and the rest of their Oppressors; declared for the Prince of *Orange*, and the Parliament of *England*, the Protestant Religion and their Ancient Constitution, and to this day do keep the Country for our Present Sovereigns, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, against King *Lewis*, and the Abdicated King *James*, waiting His Majesties Commands, &c.

Which⁶⁴ Declaration is in the words following:

WE do therefore seize upon the Persons of those few Ill Men, which have been (next unto our sins) the Grand Authors of our Miseries, resolved to secure them, for what Justice, Orders from his Highness, with the English Parliament shall direct, lest, e're we are aware, we find (what we may fear, being on all sides in danger) our selves to be by them given away to a Foreign Power, before such Orders can reach unto us, for which Orders we now humbly wait; in the mean time firmly believing, that we have endeavoured nothing but what meer Duty to God and our Country calls for at our hands: We commit our Enterprize to the Blessing of him, who hears the Cry of the oppressed, and advise all our Neighbours for whom we have thus ventured our selves, to joyn with us in Prayers, and all just Actions for the Defence of the Land.

The twelfth Article of *New England* is the Key of the *New World America*; if the French King had got it into his

⁶⁴ Here commence the important variations from the first draft. The Declaration is inserted, and the preceding paragraph greatly amplified from the original form.

his Possession, he might soon have made himself Master of *America*, and this in all Probability would have been done this Summer, if the *New Englanders* in and about *Boston*, penetrating into the Designs carrying on, had not risen as one Man, and seized Sir *E. A.* (who is as of a French Extract, so in the French Interests; ⁶⁵ being sent to *New England* by the Late King *James*, with an Illegal and Arbitrary Commission) and those ill Men who joyned with him in his Tyranny.

All men do acknowledge, that those brave Souls whom God hath so wonderfully assisted, and spirited to preserve *London-Derry*, (and perhaps thereby to save all *Ireland*) by securing it, and declaring for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, deserve great Favour and Protection from the Government.

And the same must be acknowledged due unto the People of *New England*, and more especially, when it is considered of what value and Consequence to *England*, *New England* is, and that they so early as it were, rescued the Country out of the hands of the French, even before they knew the Prince of *Orange* was King of *England*, and that at a Time when they knew no more, than that His Highness was landed in *England*, with a design to endeavour the delivering the Kingdom, and the Churches of God from Popery, Slavery and Arbitrary Power, which as they lookt upon as an Heroick and Glorious Undertaking; so they also accounted it their Duty to embark themselves in the same Cause; though they knew not what the Issue of so mighty a Work would be; which hath caused some Persons of no Mean Figure to say,

These People deserve His Majesties and the Nations Respect, Countenance, and Speedy Restitution of all their Rights, and
to

⁶⁵ We have already (p. 34, note 17,) mentioned the absurdity of this charge against Andros.

to be enabled by His Majesties Commissions to prosecute the War against France in America, which they are capable to do without any considerable Charge to the Government.

And indeed *New England*, hath upon the best Accounts which can be mentioned, out-done all *America*.

For there they have erected an *University*, which began in the year 1642, wherein things are managed, *pro more academiarum in Anglia*: Several Persons of more than ordinary Learning; yea, and many scores of able Ministers, of the Gospel, have there had their Education.

Thereby the Statutes of the *Colledge*, none is to be admitted, before he can write Latin in a pure Style, and translate any ordinary Greek Author.

It is customary with them, every Morning in the Colledge-Hall, to read a Chapter out of the Hebrew Bible, and at Night a Chapter out of the Greek Original.

The Tutors there instruct their Pupils in *Logic, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Metaphysics, Geography, Astronomy, Arithmetick, Geometry, &c.* and the Learned Men there have a corresponding communication with other Learned Men in divers parts of the World, where the Reformed Religion is professed, and by them highly revered for their Learning and Sobriety; an Instance of which appears by the following Letter, written by the Eminent Mr. *Kick*,⁶⁶ to the Queen's Majesty that now is, in *February* last, by way of Supplication for *New England*.

To


⁶⁶ We have in vain sought to learn more of this Abraham Kick, who writes with such confidence to the Queen of England. In the Mather Papers (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 4th S. viii, 596-9) are two letters from him to Increase Mather. He was evidently a merchant of Amsterdam, and high in the confidence of the English dissenters. It is stated in the famous forged letter attributed to

Increase Mather, (reprinted in the Mather Papers, p. 104-7,) that the Earl of Shaftesbury, after his overthrow and flight, died at Kick's house. In 1683, he mentions that his son John Kick was coming to Boston. In the inventory of the estate of James Browne of Salem, (Essex Records, i. 47,) Abraham Kick appears as debtor for 880 guilders.



To Her Royal Highness, Princess of
Orange, &c.

May it please your Royal Highness,

 *HE great and good God, who hath foretold us in the Scriptures, that a great and wonderful Deliverance shall be wrought for his Church in the latter days, when the Mountain of Zion shall be exalted in the top of the Mountains, seemeth to have designed to make use of His Highness the Prince of Orange, and Your Royal Highness, as Instruments in that glorious Deliverance: Having already done such marvellous things in England by His Highness, in order to that great Work; insomuch, that the Eyes of all the Protestant Churches, and People of God, are this day towards His Highness, and Your Royal Highness, as Instruments in God's Hand for the further carrying on of the Deliverance of his Church, from the cruel Sufferings and Oppressions it is under in most parts of World. For which reason I have taken the boldness to become Your Royal Highnesses humble Remembrancer, on the behalf of the People, and Church of God in New England: Who about Seventy years since forsook their own Native Country, and went into that howling wilderness, that they might enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences in the Worship of God. They are a People indeed not much taken notice of, yet a People by and for whom God hath done great things, and by whose assistance the English Colonies and Plantations in America, and the West-India Islands may be much profited; and in case of War with
France,*

France, many of the French Colonies, in those parts, may be reduced to the Obedience and Interest of the English Nation. They have erected a University amongst them, that hath produced very many able Divines, who have been very Instrumental in the Conversion of many, of the Indians, to the Christian Faith, having for the furtherance of that good Work, Translated the Bible into the Indian Tongue.

Their Confession of Faith and Church Discipline, I have made bold to present to Your Royal Highness, that you may see they are Orthodox. This People had a Patent granted them by King James, to choose their own Governors, and to make their own Laws, (not repugnant to the Laws of England) which Patent was Ratified to them by King Charles the First and Second, and so continued until the late ill Mode of Quo Warranto's came up, and that they had one sent to them about their Patent. For the defending of which, they stood a Tryal at Westminster-hall, and cast the King; but the King caused it to be brought to a Review, and by Stratagems used then in such like Cases, forced a Judgment against the said Patent; and thereupon took away all their Priviledges, and Imposed a Governor, and new Laws upon them, which they exceedingly much groan under. And although I am satisfied, that so soon as they shall come to hear of the great and wonderful things that God hath done in England by His Highness, for the Restoring of Charters and Priviledges, they will then Address themselves to Your Highnesses, seeking the Restoration of theirs; yet in regard they are so many thousand Miles distant, it will be long e're it come to their knowledge.

Therefore I have adventured on their behalf (having had a Correspondency with the said People many years, and knowing how much they will suffer, if their new Governor be not speedily removed) to give Your Royal Highness the trouble of these Lines, praying to God that He will please to move your Heart to take the First opportunity to help them to the Restoration

tion of their Ancient Patent, Priviledges and Liberties: That they and all the Churches of God may have reason to own His Highness, and your Royal Highness, as Healers of their Breaches, and Restorers of Paths to dwell in: And to rejoyce in the Goodness of God in fulfilling that Promise, of making Kings to be Nurfing Fathers, and Queens to be Nurfing Mothers to his Church. I humbly beg your Royal Highnesses Pardon for the trouble of these Lines, and take leave to subscribe my self,

G R E A T M A D A M,
Your Royal Highnesses

Most Obedient and
Most humble Servant

Hague the First of February, 1689. S. N.

A B R A H A M K I C K .

Nay, I will be bold to say, that *New England* hath outdone the whole World; for among the Indians, who a while since were mere Heathens, there are not only many Congregations of them, who are converted to the Christian Faith, and the Protestant (which is the only True) Religion: But no less than Four and twenty of those Heathens, are now not only Christians, but Preachers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. And I challenge the whole World to produce me the like Instance, as more fully appears by the following Relation, abstracted out of a Letter⁶⁷ written about two years since

⁶⁷ We insert the title of this tract as follows, from a copy in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. "De Successu Evangelij Apud Indos in Nova-Anglia Epistola. Ad Cl. Virum D. Johannem Leusdenum, Linguae Sanctae in Ultrajectina Academia Professorum, Scripta. A Crescentio Mathero Apud

Bostonienfio V. D. M. nec non Collegij Harvardini quod est Cantabrigiae Nov-Anglorum, Rectore. Londini, Typis J. G. 1688." Pp. 6. This tract is written in Latin, but we have here a translation by Mather, of all but the introductory sentence.

since from *Boston*, by the Reverend Mr. *Mather*, President of the College there, at the request, and unto the famous Dr. *John Leusden*, Hebrew Professor in the University of *Utrecht*, and since translated into divers Languages in *New England*. The whole Bible hath been translated into the Indian Language, and there also printed:⁶⁸

It's above forty five years since, that truly pious and godly Man, Mr. *John Elliot*, Minister of the Church at *Rockborough*⁶⁹ (a Mile from *Boston*) being warm'd with a Compassionate and Holy Zeal for the Conversion of the *Americans*, set himself to learn the Indian Tongue, that he might the more easily, and successfully open to them the Mysteries of the Gospel; on account of which he hath been (not undeservedly) called *the Apostle of the American Indians*. This Reverend Person was he that, with indefatigable Labour and Study, translated the whole Bible into the Indian Tongue, and also several English Treatises of Practical Divinity and Catechisms.

About Twenty eight years since he gathered a Church of Converted Indians, in a Town called *Natick*. These poor Indians were brought to such a sense of God and Religion, that they confessed their Sins with Tears, and professed their Faith in Christ; and afterwards they and their Children were Baptized, and they were Solemnly joyned together in a Church Covenant: and Mr. *Elliot* was the first that Administred the Lords Supper to them. The Minister of that Church is now an Indian named *Daniel*.

Besides this Church at *Natick*, among our Inhabitants in the Massachusetts Colony, there are Four *Indian* Assemblies; where the Name of the True God, and Jesus Christ, is solemnly called upon. And these Four Assemblies have
American

⁶⁸ We alter the arrangement of the text at this point, so as to indicate the commencement of this translation.

⁶⁹ *Ecclesiae Ripensis* in the original.

American Preachers: Mr. *Elliot* formerly Preached to them once in Fourteen Days; but now being Weakned with his Labours, and in the Eighty Sixth Year of his Age,⁷⁰ doth not Preach to them more than once in Two Months.

About Fifty Miles from *Boston* is another Church consisting only of Converted Indians; in an Indian Town, called *Marshippang*,⁷¹ the first Minister of which was an Englishman, who being skilful in the *American Language*, Preached the Gospel to them in their own Tongue; but this Minister is lately Dead, and they now have an Indian Preacher.

There are besides that, Five Assemblies of Indians professing the Name of Christ, not far distant from *Marshippang*, which have Indian Preachers, and also are Preached unto in their own Language once every week by Mr. *John Cotton*, Son of the Famous Mr. *John Cotton*, somtimes Minister of the Church at *Boston*. In *Plymouth Colony* of the Inhabitants of *Saconet* there is a great Congregation of those who for distinctions sake, are called *Praying Indians*; Because they Pray to God in Christ.

Not far from a Promontory called *Cape Cod*, are Six Assemblies of Heathens who are to be reckoned as *Catechumeni*; amongst whom are Six Indian Preachers. Mr. *Samuel Treat* Minister of a Church at *East Ham*, Preacheth to these Congregations in their own Language.

There are amongst the Islanders of *Nantucket*, a Church, with a Minister who was lately a Heathen, and several meetings of *Catechumeni*, who are instructed by the Converted Indians.

In the Island of *Martha*, which is about Twenty Two Miles long, are two American Churches planted, which are more Famous than the rest, for that over one of them presides
an

⁷⁰ The Latin being published in 1688, has "nam annum ætatis octuagesimum quartum agit."
⁷¹ A misprint for *Marshippang*, as it is in the Latin.

an Ancient Indian Minister, called *Hiacooms*: *John Hiacooms*, Son of the said Indian Minister, also Preaches the Gospel to his Contrymen in _____ Church: in that place *John Tockinosh*, a Converted Indian Teaches.⁷²

In these Churches *Ruling Elders* of the Indians are joynd to the Ministers: the Ministers were chosen by the People, and when they had Fasted and Prayed, Mr. *Elliott* and Mr. *Cotton* laid their hands on them, so that they were solemnly Ordained.

All the Congregations of the Converted Indians, (the *Catechumeni* and those that are in Church Order) every Lords Day meet together, the Minister always beginning with Prayer, and without a Form, because from the heart; when the Ruler of the Assembly hath ended his Prayer, the whole Congregation of Indians, praise God with Singing; in which many of them are excelling. After the Psalm, he that Preaches reads a place of Scripture, and Expounds it, gathers Doctrins from it, proves them by Scripture and reasons, and infers use from them after the manner of the English, of whom they have been taught: Then another Prayer to God in the Name of Christ concludes the whole Service, in which manner they meet twice every Lord's Day; they observe no Holy Days, but the Lord's Day, except upon some extraordinary occasion; and then they solemnly set apart whole Days, either in giving thanks, or fasting and praying with great fervor of Mind.

Before the English came into these Parts, these Barbarous Nations were altogether ignorant of the true God; hence it is, that in their Prayers and Sermons, they use English Words and Terms.

He that calls upon the most Holy Name of God, says,
Jehovah,

⁷² The Latin text seems rather to imply that John Hiacoomes preached at the same place as his father, and that John Tockinosh preached at the other of the two churches.

Jehovah, or God, or Lord ; and also they have Learned, and borrowed many other Theological Phrases from the English.

There are six Churches of Baptized Indians in *New England*, and eighteen Assemblies of *Catechumeni*, professing the Name of Christ.

Of the Indians there are four and twenty who are Preachers of the Word of God, and there are also four English Ministers who Preach the Gospel in the Indian Tongue, and there are many of the Indians Children, who have learned by heart the Catechism ; either of that famous Divine Mr. *Will. Perkins*, or that put forth by the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, and can in their own Mother-Tongue answer to all the questions in it.⁷³

Thus Sir I have endeavoured to gratifie your request with as much Brevity as the Subject will admit, and exceeding the Bounds of a Letter, am forced to be so prolix, and the rather for that most of what I have written is upon my own knowledge, Truth (and the rest undeniable fact) though not the twentieth Part of the Truths might be said of the Almighty's most wonderful blessing and prospering *New England*, and his Gospel amongs the Heathen there, which to me looks like the Beginning of the fulfilling those many Prophecies in *Holy Writ* concerning them.

And after all this, I cannot but admire there should be (as you say there is) any Man in *England*, who owns but even the bare name of a Protestant, at such a time as this, when God seems to have begun the Reformation of the whole World, and eminently to appear for the True Reformed Religion, should be an Enemy unto such a People as are in *New England*, and their Discipline, as to the Religious Worship : When as to all knowing and unprejudiced persons, its consonant to the practice of the Primitive Church, and
of

⁷³ Here the translation ends, and in the original Latin there follows a half page of complimentary phrases.

of the Reformed Churches throughout the World :⁷⁴ Which one would think should not find an Enemy among any sort of Christians, but those called Papists, or else among such, as *Papist like* can give up their Religion, Rights, Liberties, and Properties, nay, their very Senses to the conduct of their Fellow Creatures.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ We have here a repetition of a quotation used in a former pamphlet, and printed in this volume *ante* p. 26. The author still escapes identification.

FINIS.



[REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
Against Andros and Others before the
Privy Council in April, 1690,
WITH A LIST OF THE CHARGES AGAINST
THEM AND THEIR DEFENCE AGAINST THE SAME.

FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS AT LONDON.]



ORDER DISCHARGING
S R E D M D A N D R O S.

24 APRIL, 1690.

[From the Original at the State Paper Office, London,⁷⁵ Colonial Entry Book, Vol. 62, p. 188.]

*At the Court at Whitehall, the 24th of Aprill, 1690. Present,
The King's most Excellent Ma^{tie} in Councill.*

The Right Hono^{ble} the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations having this day presented a Report to His Ma^{tie} in Councill in the words following, Viz:

May it please your Ma^{tie}

Your Ma^{tie} having by your Letter dated the thirtieth day of July last to the present Government of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, signified your pleasure that S^r Edmond Andros, late Governor of that Territory and others that had been seized by the people of Boston upon the late Revolution & detained there under confinement for the space of ten months,

⁷⁵ We are indebted to A. C. GOODELL, Esq., of Salem, for the use of this transcript of the Council Records, recently made for him in England. The proceedings at the hearing are more fully set forth in Hutchinson's History, i. 394-5, as follows:

"The agents disagreed, and by this means certain articles against Sir Edmund were never signed by them. Mr. Mather said that the Earl of Mon-

mouth told him they had cut the throat of their country in not doing it, but Mr. Cooke's excuse was, Sir John Somers's advice, which he said was against doing it. An enquiry into the conduct of Sir Edmund and the rest, it was designed should be avoided, and this was the reason of Sir John Somers's advice to Mr. Cooke. 'When the agents first appeared before the council, Sir Edmund, Dudley, Randolph &c. had notice to

months, should according to their humble request made to your Ma^{tie} in Council be sent into England by the first opportunity

to be present also, and came prepared with a charge against the colony, for rebellion against lawful authority, for imprisoning the King's governor &c. Sir John Somers thereupon said that the agents were upon the defensive part, and were ready to answer any complaints. Sir Robert Sawyer, who had brought the *quo warranto*, then declaimed largely against the colony for those deeds by which he supposed the charter forfeited, but in the close, to prevent an answer, acknowledged that what he said was foreign to the present case, and one of the lords said, Let us keep to the matter before us. The agents were then required to give the reasons of the opposition to Sir Edmund and his authority. They began with his Proclamation and other endeavours to stifle the news of the Prince's landing, and the imprisonment of the person who brought over the declaration. Lord President (Marquis of Carmarthen) asked who imprisoned Sir Edmund and the rest. Sir John Somers replied "The country, my lord, oppressed by an arbitrary government did there as we did here, rose as one man, took the opportunity of the news of the revolution in England to free themselves from the yoke they were under." Lord President. "You say it was the country and the people, that is nobody; let us see A, B, and C, the persons that will make it their case. Here is a charge against the King's governor, but nobody has signed the paper." Sir J. Somers. "My lord, we are here in behalf of the country, to manage their concerns, and not in the behalf of any particular persons." One of the agents then whispered Sir John, that, if that was a stick, they would sign the paper immediately; but he replied "No, we are in our way and

have followed the direction of the Board, and if they will bring us off thus they may." One of the lords said, "I perceive the revolution there was as it was here, by the unanimous agreement of the people, for who seized and imprisoned the late Lord Chancellor, who seized and imprisoned Lord such and such" (naming several) "and secured the garrison of Hull &c. I think we understand the matter well enough, and see no reason why we may not go forward with the proof." Another lord spake to the same purpose, and said the people were to be commended for what they had done: but Lord President applied himself to the agents and said, "Gentlemen, here has been a pretty deal of time spent; my lords will give his Majesty a true and impartial account of what has been said on both sides, and wait his Majesty's further pleasure, and you may withdraw for the present." The next day, Sir Edmund and the rest were discharged from any further attendance, and a report being made to his Majesty in Council, the same was approved, and the matter was ordered to be dismissed on both sides. (*Mr. Cooke's letter*.)

"Thus the agents were diverted by their own council from pursuing their instructions and supporting a charge which had been prepared and offered to the Lords of the Council. It was well known that it would be most agreeable to have no enquiry made. Lord President's own arbitrary actions, whilst Earl of Danby, for which no satisfaction had been given, would have stared him in the face and it would not have well consisted with the oblivion for what had passed at home, to have been very strict in enquiring into tyranny in the colonies." HUTCHINSON.

opportunity to answer before your Ma^{tie} what might be objected against them. We have accordingly on the tenth Instant been attended by S^r Edmond Andros and others lately imprisoned in New England, as also by S^r Henry Ashurst, M^r Elifha Cooke, M^r Increase Mather and M^r Thomas Oaks, who then declared themselves unto us to be Agents for the said Government of the Massachusetts Bay. But by reason of the late arrivall in England of some them, desired that they might be allowed further time to produce Credentialls and Charge against the said S^r Edm^d Andros and others aforesaid, which charge having been brought in on the Munday following, we were according to our directions attended on Thursday last by S^r Edm^d Andros and such as were lately imprisoned in New England, and by Councill learned, on both sides; at which time the Councill learned, for the people of the Massachusetts Bay as they teamed themselves, having been asked by us whether any person were ready to sign or own the said charge, no Person could be there found or was named unto us upon our Inquiry, to signe or owne the same; so that as we saw no matter of Complaint or Objection against S^r Edmond Andros and others aforesaid to proceed upon; We do therefore most humbly offer our opinion to your Ma^{tie} that the said S^r Edmond Andros and other persons lately imprison'd in New England and now attending your Ma^{tie}, be forthwith discharged and set at liberty, and the said Paper or Charge which has not been signed or owned, may be dismissed, inas-much as nothing has been objected against the said S^r Edmond Andros and others, by the present Government of the Massachusetts Bay or their Agents, and the times appointed by us in pursuance of Your Ma^{ties} pleasure signified to them in that behalfe.

All of which is nevertheless
most humbly submitted.

Councill Chamber
17th Aprill, 1690.

His

His Ma^{tie} in Councill is pleased to approve of the said Report and to order that the Paper or Charge therein mentioned as not being signed or owned by any Person be dismissed, as it is hereby dismissed this Board; and that S^r Edmond Andros, late Governor of New England, and others that have been seized by the people of Boston upon the late Revolution, and now attend His Ma^{tie}, be forthwith discharged, as they are hereby discharged and sett at liberty according to the said Report.

[From Colonial Entry Book, Vol. 62, p. 194].

*Matters objected against S^r Edmond Andros,
M^r Joseph Dudley, M^r Palmer, M^r Randolph, M^r West,
M^r Graham, M^r Farwell, M^r Sherlock and others, as
occasions of their Imprisonment in New England.*

1. It is objected against S^r Edmond Andros, that he being Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, after notice of his present Mat^{ies} intentions to land in England, issued out a Proclamation, requiring all persons to oppose any descent of such as might be authorized by him, Endeavoured to stifle the news of his landing, and caused him that brought this King's Declaration thither to be imprisoned as bringing a seditious and treasonable paper.

2. That in the time of his Government, he without forme or colour of legall authority made Lawes destructive of the liberty of the people, imposed and levied taxes, threatened and imprisoned them who would not be assisting to the illegall levies, denied that they had any propertie in their lands

lands without patents from him, and during the time of actuall war with the Indians he did supply them with ammunition, and severall Indians declared that they were encouraged by him to make war upon the English, and he discountenanced making defence against the Indians.

3. As to all the other Persons Imprisoned, they were Accomplices and confederates with S^r Edmond Andros, and particularly M^r Dudley, M^r Randolph and M^r Palmer were of his Councill, and joined with him in his Arbitrary Lawes and Impositions, & in threatening and imprisoning them who would not comply. M^r West was his Secretary and guilty of great extortion, and gave out words which shewed himself no friend to the English. M^r Graham was his Attorney at one time and M^r Farwell at another, both concerned in illegall proceedings destructive of the Propertie of the subject. M^r Farwell prosecuted them who refused to comply with the illegall levies, and M^r Graham brought severall Writts of Intrusion against men for their own Lands, and M^r Sherlock, another person imprisoned tho' not named in the order, acted there for some years as an High Sheriff, tho' he was a stranger in the Country, and had no Estate there during shrievalty; he impaneled Juries of strangers who had no freehold in that Country, and extorted unreasonable Fees.

Aprill 14, 1690.

Mem^{dm} This Paper being presented the 14th Aprill 1690, by M^r Humphreys and no person being afterwards found to sign or own the same, Their Lo^{ps} would not permit it to be read.



[From the Colonial Entry Book, Vol. 62, p. 196.]

*The Answer of Sr Edmond Andros to the
matters objected against him and others, as occasion of their
Imprisonment in New England.*

In obedience to Your Lo'ps Commands that we should answer to such matters as are objected against us by Sr Henry Ashurst, Elifha Cooke, Increase Mather, and Thos. Oakes.

We humbly represent to Your Lo'ps praying they may sign or owne their Objections.

The Answer of Sr Edmond Andros, Kn^t.

The said Sr Edmond Andros sayth, that in the month of January 1688, he, being then Governor of New England, received commands from the late King James, dated the 16th. of October preceding, to make knowne in the most publick manner to all his subjects there, the advice he had lately received of an Invasion from Holland, which was accordingly done as may be seen by his said late Ma^{tes} Commands, and the Proclamation or notice made thereupon by the said Sr Edmond Andros, as was done in England and in the other Plantations, and in the same tenor; But withall denies that he did stifle any news of his present Ma^{tes} landing, or knew any person that brought His Ma^{tes} Declaration thither, or caused any to be imprisoned upon such colour or pretence as is maliciously objected.

That in the time of his Government in New England he never made any Lawes or was concerned with others in the making

making of any, destructive of the liberty of the people : But that by vertue of the power and authority given under the great seale of England, severall prudentiall Lawes and Ordinances, as near as could be agreeable to the Lawes of England, have been by him and the Councill,—consisting of about forty persons, all (except two) Inhabitants and Planters of New-England, and most of them such as he found in the Councill upon his arrivall there,—made and published for the good and welfare of the people and country under his Government, which were from time to time transmitted to the Secretaries of State and the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations; and that during the time of his Government the methods of proceeding at law, and all Judgments made or given in any Criminall or Civill cause or action was after the manner and agreeable to the Lawes Customes and Statutes of England, which in the former Government the people were wholly denied the benefit of, or permitted to appeale to His Ma^{tie} untill the vacating their Charter, as is well knowne.

That he never imposed or levied any illegall Taxes, But by his Commission under the Great Seale of England Instructions for the Government, there is a Power and Command given to him and the Councill to continue, raise and levie such Taxes as were or lately had been laid and imposed for the support of the Government, which was done in the words of the former Law made there about fifty yeares since, which granted a rate of one penny in the pound for ever, to be annually levied and collected by Warrants from the Treasurer, which were also the Methods used and practiced upon the dissolution of the Charter of Virginia by Quo Warranto in the year 1624. That he never threatened nor imprisoned any who would not assit to illegall Levies, But that severall factious Persons riotously and tumultuously combined together and refusing to pay their usuall Rates pursuant to the
Treasurer's

Treasurer's Warrant have been proceeded against by due course of Law.

That such as are at this time in the Administration of that Government have found the single rate of one penny in the pound yearly so much too little that for the expence of five or six months past they have levied & distreined upon the people, and even upon some of the Gentlemen now objected against, whilst under close imprisonment, seven penny Rates and a halfe.

That his pretended denyall that the people had any property in their Lands without Patents from him, is a malicious and groundless imputation, but that power was given him in his Commission and Instructions for granting of vacant Lands in His Ma^{tes} dispose, and confirming others where Titles were defective, few or no Grants having been made by the Corporation pursuant to the directions of their Charter when in force: And upon application severall Grants have been given accordingly.

That the Imputation now cast upon him to have supplied the Indians with Ammunition during the time of actual War, is a most vile and base aspersion and unworthy of an Englishman and Christian, being without the least ground or colour of truth, as alsoe the frivolous imputation of Indians declaring they were encouraged by him to make war upon the English, and his discountenancing the defence of the Country against the Indians being a false and malicious Clamour, as by the whole management of that war is sufficiently evident, nor has any thing like it been mentioned in the Declaration or Votes of the Representatives of New England, as they learned themselves some months after.

That the Respondent is well knowne to have alwaies been a Protestant and has for more than twenty yeares last past served the Crowne in severall parts of America in the Wars against the French in the Charibbee Islands, and in the
Government

Government of New Yorke as well as in New England, during which time the Indians were in continuall subjection, untill by some unadvised proceedings of the Inhabitants of the Eastern parts of New England, the late rupture with the Indians there commenced, when by his late Ma^{tes} Commands he was at New Yorke more than three hundred miles distant from that place. That upon his speedy returne to Boston (all things being quietly settled to the Westward) the greatest part of the Guarifon soldiers with store and other necessaries were immediately sent to re-inforce those Parts where the War broke out, and Vessells to secure the Coasts and Fishery, and further forces raised appointed to be under the Command of Major Gen^l Winthrop, who falling sick and declining the service, he, this Respondent, by advice of the Councill went with them in person. And by the settlement of severall Guarifons, frequent parties, marches and Pursuits after the enemy, sometimes above one hundred miles into the Defart further than any Christian Settlement, and taking and destroying their Forts, Corn, Provision, Ammunition & Canooes, dispersed and reduced them to the uttermost wants and necessities, and so secured the Country that from the said Forces going out untill the time of his Imprisonment (which was above ten months, for which no mittimus or cause of Committment was ever shewn or assigned to the Respondent) and the tumultuous withdrawing the Forces from those Parts by them that assumed the Government, not the least losse, Damage or spoile hap'ned to the Inhabitants or Fishery. But since his restraint, it will too plainly appeare that severall hundreds of their Ma^{tes} subjects have been killed and carried away Captive. The Guarifon at Pemaquid and other Guarifons have been taken, and the whole County of Cornwall and great part of the Province of Maine have been destroyed and deserted. And the like Depopulation is ready to be carried on into y^e heart of New England, unless it shall
please

please His Ma^{tie} by his own authority to put a stop to the Incurfions of the French and Indians, and thereby prevent the inevitable ruine of the whole Dominion of New England and confequently of their Ma^{tes} other Plantations.

Joseph Dudley.

JOSEPH DUDLEY humbly answers That he is an Inhabitant and Planter in New England, where his Estate and Family is, and whither his Father, who was sometime Governor there, being one of the first Adventurers and principall Undertakers, removed his Estate and Family to New England about the yeare 1630.

That for fifteen yeares last past he hath been employed in the Government there, and was attending this Hon^{ble} Board in the yeare 1682 and 1683 as Agent for the Corporation while their Charter was in being, and after his returne and the vacating said Charter was by Commission under the Great Seale of England made President of that Country untill a Generall Governor should arrive; & after upon S^r Edmond Andros coming, was by direction of his then Majesty appointed to be of the Councill & was one of the Judges of that Territory; in all which capacities he faithfully to his understanding served the Crowne & the true interest of those Plantations, and was never an Accomplice or Confederate with any Person in any Arbitrary Laws or Impositions or threats or Punishments whatsoever, but plainly and truly advised in matter of Councill, and according to his best skill gave Judgement in matters of Law according to the Lawes
and

and Statutes of the Realm of England and the peculiar Laws of that Government.

Notwithstanding all which, he was in the month of Aprill 1689 committed to prison in Boston without any examination, mittimus or charge against him, and after thirteen weeks Imprisonment gave Bond to those who had assumed the Government there, with three sufficient Sureties in ten thousand pounds for his enlargement, but in six houres after was again violently brought back to Prison,⁷⁶ the Principall Persons now in that Government well knowing thereof, where he remained for the space of six months, untill the coming of His Ma^{tes} Gracious commands: The Government denyeing to returne his Bond or allow him the Benefitt thereof, and in the mean time severely taxing his Estate towards the supply of the present Agents who are come to pursue and Implead him here, w^{ch} is most humbly submitted to Your Lo^{pps}.

John Palmer.

JOHN PALMER humbly answers, That he was one of His Ma^{tes} Councill in New England & faithfully discharged his duty in the said office, and denyes any Confederacy with any Person,

⁷⁶ This account is confirmed by a paper published by PALFREY, (iii, 594). On the 13th of July, Dudley being sick, an order was given to allow him to go to his own house. But "about twelve o'clock at night, being Saturday night, about 200 or 300 of the rabble, Dearing and Searle heading of them, went and broke open his house and brought him to town. The keeper would not receive him, and they took him to Mr.

Paige's. Monday night, the 15th. they broke into Mr. Paige's house, (smashing his windows), searching for him. The 16th inst. Mr. Dudley walked to the prison accompanied with several gentlemen, there being no killing the people otherwise."

His bondsmen were Samuel Shrimpton, Nicolas Paige, and Eliakim Hutchinson.

Person, or to have joyned in the making or executing of any Laws or laying Impositions destructive of the liberty of the People.

Edward Randolph.

EDWARD RANDOLPH likewise humbly answers, That about the yeare 1679 he was appointed Collector of the Customes in New England pursuant to an Act of Parliament, with full power to put the severall Acts of Trade in execution there, which with great difficulty and hazard of his life, he soe pursued that y^e irregular Trade was stopped; but thereby made himself obnoxious to the Government, which chiefly consist of Traders who have openly denyed and opposed his Commission, and declared that neither the Acts of Trade nor any Law of England were in force with them till ratify'd and allowed of by their Representatives in a Generall Court: And taking no further notice of those Acts they openly continued their illegall trade notwithstanding many admonitions and commands to the contrary sent to them from his late Ma^{tie} King Charles the second and from this Hono^{ble} Board; whereupon the prosecution of their Charter which had been commenced in the reigne of King Charles the first, but was interrupted by the troubles soon after ensueing here in England, was againe continued and after many evasions and delays on their side to answer here, the said Charter was vacated by Judgement on a *Scire Facias* brought in Chancery in the reigne of King Charles the 2nd. And the said Edward having been chiefly employed by His Ma^{ties} Attorney Generall in the said Prosecution was the chief cause the said Edward Randolph ever heard for his most cruel and tedious imprisonment in the common Goale as may
appeare

appeare by the Resolution of their Representatives at Boston, at a pretended Generall Court the 28th day of June last, where it was resolved that the said Edward Randolph and the other prisoners now attending your Lordships were not bailable, having broken a Capitoll Law of that Colony in endeavouring and accomplishing the subversion of their Government, which by the said Capitoll Law of their own invention is punishable with death.

That the said Edward Randolph doth further say that he had the honour of being one of the members of the Council of New England and that during the time of S^r Edmond Andros Government did faithfully act for the honour and intrest of the Crowne and the generall good of that Plantation, and denies all manner of confederacy with S^r Edmond Andros, or that he joyned with him in making any Arbitrary Laws or Impositions, or in threatening and punishing them who would not comply therewith, which is most humbly submitted.

John West.

JOHN WEST humbly represents that he was Deputy Treasurer of New England pursuant to Letters Patent under the Great Seale of England untill on the 18th of Aprill past he was forcibly seized and imprisoned. That he did faithfully discharge his duty without being guilty of any Extortion or other Crime or Misdemeanour as now is most calumniously and injuriously charged upon him by the persons above named, altho' in all the time of his long and unjust sufferings and imprisonment in New England for the space of Ten months, no such crime or any other was ever charged or objected against him. That he known not what the said Persons mean by saying that he gave out words which shewed him

him no friend to the English, and therefore takes the same to be a frivolous Imputation to which he conceives no other answer can be given than to affirm that he is an English man and Protestant of the Church of England, and no waies concerned in any Forreigne interest.

James Graham.

JAMES GRAHAM humbly answers that he never was concerned in any proceedings that were either illegall or destructive to the property of the subject, but that he was by Commission under the Seale of His Majesty's Territory of New England appointed Attorney Gen^l there, and during the short time that he was in the execution of that Office he did according to his duty prosecute severall notorious Offenders according to the known lawes of England and not otherwise: And did also prosecute two Writts of Intrusion against some who had unlawfully intruded upon the rights of the Crowne. The said James Graham further sayth that on the 18th of Aprill last past, he was by Elisha Cooke & severall others with him violently seized and carried to prison at the Castle Island near the Towne of Boston, and there for the space of Ten months inhumanely and arbitrarily detained without Mittimus or the Assignement of any lawfull cause, which is most humbly represented to Your Lo'pps.

George Farewell.

GEORGE FAREWELL humbly answers That he did practice as an Attorney at law within the Dominion of New England for divers yeares next before the 18th of Aprill last past; that
he

he never prosecuted or defended any suite wherein S^r Edmond Andros was either Plaintiff or Defendant, but has been some times retained on behalfe of His Ma^{tie} to prosecute such persons whom the Governor deemed Criminall, in all which prosecutions he did legally proceed; That he never endeavoured the destruction of the subject, and humbly conceives that for a lawyer to appeare in any Court in prosecution or defence of any Suite for his fee, cannot be imputed to him as a Crime.

That he was on the 18th of Aprill last past seized and made a prisoner in the Common Goale in Boston, where he remained untill February last, when by vertue of His Ma^{tes} command he was sent to this Hono^{ble} Board to answer before His Ma^{tie} what should be objected against him. That during all the time of his Imprisonment he was never charged by any Mittimus. That he severall times applied to the Administrators of the Government there, for relief by letters; and particularly that the last day of July, understanding that a County Court was then holden at Boston, he obtained the favour of his keeper to go with him to the Court, where he humbly moved the Bench that he was a subject of the Crowne of England, and had been fifteen weeks in prison without any Commitment, that he could never obtaine a releasement, or by any meanes come to the speech of any of their Magistrates & therefore pray'd to be discharged or committed in due forme; but was by the Bench & particularly by Elifha Cooke then there, remanded to the Goale & denied Commitment contrary to the Knowne right of an Englishman.

James Sherlock.

JAMES SHERLOCK saith that he was a freeholder in New England before and during his Sherrivality, and gave bond with

with sureties in a thousand pounds for the faithfull discharge of his Office, and returned Juries alwaies out of the Lifts sent him by the Constables and other Officers in the severall Towns, and contented himself with stated and allowed Fees, and is not guilty of any extortion ; But nevertheles [was] arbitrarily imprisoned and continued in close custody for more than ten months, for no other reason as he can imagine, but for being in the immediate service of the Crowne. All which is humbly submitted.

	ED. ANDROS,
	J. DUDLEY,
	J. PALMER,
JAM. SHERLOCK,	JOHN WEST,
	JA. GRAHAM,
	GEORGE FAREWELL,
	ED. RANDOLPH.

Mem^{dm} This Answer was presented at the Committee the 24th of Aprill 1690. But there being no person found to own or sign the Charge presented by the Solicitor for the other side against the Respondents, neither the Charge nor this Answer was permitted to be read. Vide Report and Order in this matter, Ent^d p. 188.



[AN ACCOUNT
OF THE LATE REVOLUTIONS
IN
NEW-ENGLAND
BY
A. B.]

Published at Boston by Benjamin Harris, and Sold at the
London-Coffee-House there. 1689.]



PREFATORY NOTE.

⁷⁷ THE following pamphlet is printed from a copy in the library of JOHN CARTER BROWN, Esq., of Providence, who most kindly gave the editor permission to republish it. This "Account" seems to have escaped the notice of PALFREY and other historians, and if Mr. Brown's copy be not unique, all other copies have probably heretofore been confounded with "Byfield's Account."

Of the great value of this Account, it is difficult to say too much. Byfield wrote on the 29th of April, 1689, only ten days after the overthrow of Andros; but this Account, dated a month later, (June 6,) and by a competent writer, gives the view which the leaders of the revolt wished to have go abroad. A little later, these leaders desired to conceal a portion of their acts, and not improbably this pamphlet was as far as possible suppressed.

We refer especially to the existence of an agreement among certain leaders here to put themselves at the head of any rising of the people, before any news arrived of the enterprise of the Prince of Orange against England. PALFREY, (iii. 579,) gives only the accusations of the Andros faction, that the rebellion had long been planned; but Palmer, 'C. D.,' and the rest of that faction do not quote the plain confession made in this Account.

We have found it impossible to make the slightest surmise in regard to the writer of this pamphlet, though we may presume A. B. are not the initials of his names. It is, however, only a matter of curiosity to trace the author, since there were in Boston, on the victorious side, a goodly array of practiced writers, fully capable of performing the task.

We have ventured to put on the new half-title on the preceding page, the name of Benjamin Harris as publisher, as the pamphlet was evidently printed in Boston, and Harris's sign was for several years at the London Coffee House. Notably is this full imprint on the Declaration of the Prince of Orange when reprinted here, at this precise time, as cited in our First Volume, p. 9.



An Account of the Late
REVOLUTIONS
in *New-England*;
In a Letter.

Sir,

AMONG the many matters of *Discourse* and *Wonder* at this day abroad in the World, the state of *New-England* cannot but be *One*; and of that, if I would not forfeit the Character which you allow me of your *Friend*, I must now give you some account. Since the *Illegal* Subversion of our Ancient Government, this *Great*, but *poor* people have been in the Hands of *men skilful to destroy*, and all our Concerns both Civil and Sacred, have suffered by the Arbitrary Oppressions of *Unreasonable Men*. I believe, no part of the *English America*, so powerful and united as *New-England* was, could have endured half so many Abuses as we have bin harrassed withal, with a tenth part of our *Patience*; but our *Conscience* was that which gave metal to our *Patience*, and kept us Quiet; for though our foul-mouth'd Enemies have treated us a *Rebellious*, because we are a *Religious* people, they may be pleased now to understand, That if we had not been *Religious*,

Religious, we had long since been what they would, if they durst, have called *Rebellious*. The very *Form* of Government impos'd upon us, was among *the worst of Treasons*, even a Treasonable Invasion of the Rights which the whole *English* Nation lays claim unto; every true *English-man* must justify our Dissatisfaction at it, and believe that we have not so much *Resisted the Ordinance of God*, as we have Resisted an intollerable Violation of His *Ordinance*.

But Sir, be pleas'd now to reflect upon our Declaration, and consider whether the Administration of this Government was not as Vexatious, as the *Constitution* of it was Illegal. Consider whether the whole Government was not become a meer *Engine*, a sort of *Machin* contriv'd only to enrich a crew of Abject Strangers, upon the Ruines of a miserable people. And yet, I am to tell you, That *scarce one half is told you*. The *Declaration* was compos'd so much in the Hurry of Action that it comprehends not all our *Grievances*; However, you may guess from the *Clawes* there pourtray'd, what sort of Creatures were devouring of us.

Sir, I own, that we *Argue simply* about the Affairs of Government; but we *Feel True*. I have sometimes challenged any man to mention so much as *One Thing* done by our Late Superiors for the welfare of the Country; a thousand things we all *Felt* every day doing for the Ruine of it; and as 'tis said, once when they had Divine Service among them, he that read it, being to read that Epistle, where, according to their Translation 'tis said, *Be Harbarous one to another*: By an unhappy mistake read it *Be Barbarous one to another*: So we thought we *Felt* their continual Actings upon that mistaken Rule. However I confess (and I know not whether you will count it our *Honour* or our *Blemish*) we should have born the Grievances without any Attempts
for

for our own Relief, but our own Supplications to the Great God; for our Applications to the Late King, our only remaining Remedy on earth, we had found ineffectual. But there happened one Provocation to our people more, which had more than an hundred in it, and such was their *Infirmity*, if you will call it so, that this they could not bear. A small Body of our *Eastern* Indians had begun a *War* upon us: the *Occasion* of which was as doubtful to us all at first, as the whole *Management* of it was afterwards mysterious. A Party of Indians which were affirm'd to belong unto that crew of Murderers were seiz'd by the *English*; but Governour *Andros* with many favours to them, ordered them to be set at Liberty again: and it's affirmed *Those* very men have done great part of the mischief sustained by us. An Army of near a *Thousand English* (and the flower of our Youth) was raised for the subduing of our Enemies, which I believe were much fewer than an *Hundred Indians*. This Army goes through the tedious Fatigues of a long and cold Winter, many scores of miles to the Northward; and underwent such Hardships that very many of our poor Souldiers perished on the Spot; and it is justly fear'd, That not a few more of them have got their bane, that they will never be strong men again: but not one Indian killed all the while: only Garrisons were here and there planted in the wild woods on a pretence, *To keep the Indians from Fishing*; which project of *Hedging in the Cuckow's*, our dull *New-Englanders* could not understand. It was further admirable to us, that though the Governour had been importun'd to take a much more *expedient*, and far less *Expensive* way of subduing our *Indian Enemies*, he was thereto wholly unperfwadeable. In the mean time the Country was wonderfully surpris'd, with Evidences coming in, from Indians and others, in several parts, which very Strangely concurred in their Testimonies, *That there was a Plot to bring in the Indians upon us*; and it was easy unto us to conceive,

conceive, How *serviceable* another *Indian War* might have been to the Designs which we saw working for us. These Evidences were so far from being duly enquired into, that the *English-men*,—who had been inquisitive after them, were put unto all manner of trouble, and must have been destroyed if a Turn had not happend,—thought nothing in the World was more natural than the Agreement between such a *Plot* and the whole conduct of our *Eastern Affairs*; nor is there any contradiction in it in one of *Randolph's* Letters to *Blaithwait* which says *Nothing has been wanting in his Excellency to bring all things to a good posture; but this people are Rivetted in their Way, and I fear nothing but Necessity or Force will otherwise dispose them.* While these things were going on, by way of the *West-Indies* there arrived unto us a few small Intimations, That the Prince of *Orange* had prospered in his Noble Undertaking to rescue the *English* Nation from imminent POPERY and SLAVERY. But Sir *Edmond Andross* took all imaginable care to keep us ignorant of the News, which yet he himself could not be unacquainted with; and one that brought the Princes *Declaration* with him, was imprisoned for bringing Seditious and Treasonable Papers into the Country with him; and our Oppressors went on without *Fear* or *Wit*, in all the methods that could inflame the people to the highest exasperation. The Reports continually coming in from our *Eastern Army* now caused the Relations of those that were there perishing, here a little to bestir themselves; and they could not forbear forming themselves here and there in the Country unto some Body, that they might consider what should be done for their poor Children, whom they thought bound for a bloody Sacrifice. While this was doing, the people of *Boston* were Alarmed with Suspicions buzz'd about the *Town*, by some belonging to the Ship, That the *Rose Frigate* now in our Harbour was intended to carry off our Late *Governour* for
France,

France, & to take any of our *English* Vessels that might be coming in unto us; and we apprehended our selves in the mean time very ill provided, if an Attacque from any of the *French* Fleet in the *West Indies* were perfidiously made upon us. 'T is impossible to expresse the Agonies which filled the minds of both Town and Country; but the consideration of the extream Ferment which we were boiling in, caused several very deserving Gentlemen in *Boston*, about the middle of *April*, to enter into a Consultation, how they might best serve the Distressed Land in its present Discomposures. They considered the *Directions* given in the Princes *Declarations* (of which at last we had stolen a sight) and the *Examples* which the whole Kingdom of *England* (as far as we could learn) had set before us. They also considered, that the Governour being mov'd to call a General Council in this extraordinary juncture, instead of this, he never so much as called his Council here at hand to communicate unto them any part of the *Intelligence relating* to the Late Affairs in *England*. They likewise considered, That though they were above all things inclinable to *stay a little*, hoping that every day might bring some Orders from *England* for our safety, yet they could not undertake for such a Temper in all their provoked Neighbours. Wherefore they Resolved, That if either the outrageous madness of our Foes, or the impatient motion of our *Friends*, did necessitate any Action, they would put themselves in the Head of it, and endeavour to prevent what ill effects an *Unform'd Tumult* might produce.

By that time the Eighteenth of *April* had given a few Hours of Light unto us, things were push'd on to such extremities that *Bostons* part in Action seem'd loudly enough and hastily called for. Accordingly, the Captain of the Frigat being then on Shoar, it was determined that he must be made incapable either to *Obstruct*, or to *Revenge* the Action, by *Firing* on, or *Sailing* from the Town; him there-

fore,

fore they immediately seized. There were not very many acquainted with the measures that were to be taken; but the Action was now begun, and the Rumour of it running like Lightning through the Town, all sorts of people were presently inspired with the most unanimous Resolution, I believe, that was ever seen. *Drums* were beaten, and the whole Town was immediately up in *Arms*.

The first work done, was by small parties here and there about the *Town* to seize upon these unworthy Men⁷⁸ who by repeated Extortions and Abuses had made themselves the objects of *Universal Hatred* and Indignation. *These* were many of them secured and confined; but the principal of them, at the *First Noise* of the Action, fled into the Garrison on *Fort-Hill*, where the *Governours* Lodgings were; a place very Commodiously *Situated* to Command the whole Town, but not sufficiently *Fortify'd*.

The Army had no sooner got well together, but a Declaration was Read unto them, unto which they gave an Assent by a very considerable Shout. And upon this, the Gentlemen with such as had come in to their Assistance in the *Town-house*, apprehending the Resolutions of the people, drew up a short Letter to Sir *Edmond Andros*, and dispatched away a couple⁷⁹ of their Number with it; the whole armed Body attend them unto the *Fortification*, whither they Marched with all the Alacrity in the world, and yet with so composed a *Sobriety*, that I question whether *America* has ever seen what might equal it. It was expected, That the *Garrison* might make some Resistance: but they intended to be Owners of it within one-half hour, or perish in the Attempt. When they were just come to beset the Fort, they met

⁷⁸ A list of these men is in Byfield. ⁷⁹ Nathaniel Oliver and John Eyre.
(Andros Tracts, i. 4.)

met the Governour and his Creatures, going down the Hill to the Man-of-Wars *Pinace*, which was come to fetch them off; had they not come thither just at that Neck of time, our Adversaries would have got down to the Castle, which is a League below the Town; and in spite of us all, the Frigate would have gone unto them: but our *Houfes* on shore and our *Vessels* at Sea, must have paid all the satisfaction they could have demanded of us. However, now at the fight of our Forces, the Gentlemen ran back into their Hold; whither the two Gentlemen our Messengers, now advancing, were presented at by the Red-coat Centinels; our Souldiers warned them on pain of Death, to forbear firing; upon which they fled into the Fort, and (as 'tis affirmed) had very terrible Reprimands, *for not firing on them*.⁸⁰ The Gentlemen being admitted, Sir *Edmond Andros* read what was written to him, and now better understanding his own circumstances, there was a safe conduct given to him, and he with his Associates were brought into the Chamber where he had formerly himself been hatching the Things that now procur'd his more humble Appearance there. *He* was treated with all the Respect that could be due unto his Character; but he was confined for that Night unto the House of the Late Treasurer, with Guards upon him; and the *Regt* had their several confinements allotted unto them in such places as were most agreeable to their Quality. With much ado, the Governour gave Order for the surrender of the Fort; and the ceremonies of the surrender⁸¹ were performed by Secretary *Randolph*,

⁸⁰ The anonymous Account in HUTCHINSON, (i. 374.) says that early in the day "young Dudley and Col. Lidget" reached Andros in the Fort, but Dudley was sent back to ask the "four ministers (of Boston, Allen, Moody, Willard and Cotton Mather) Mr. Joyliffe and one or two more" to come and act as

mediators. The foldiers of the Colonial party charged the fort with great rashness; and as the account says, if Andros's foldiers had been resolute to fight, they might have killed a hundred of their assailants.

⁸¹ This curious phrase seems to confirm a story told by John Riggs, a servant

Randolph, the very man whose lyes and clamours and malicious unwearied Applications had the greatest influence in the overthrow of our former Government.

All the Country round about now began to flock in, and by the next day some Thousands of Horse and Foot were come in from the Towns Adjacent, to express the unanimous content they took in the *Action*, and offer their utmost Assistance in what yet remained for the compleating of it. The obtaining of the Castle was the main thing that yet called for our cares; but after some stomachful Reluctances the Late Governour gave Order also for the surrender of *That*;⁸² and himself was by the people removed unto the Fort to be kept as a Prisoner there. Thus was the *Action* managed; and through the singular Providence of God, not one mans Life was lost in the whole Undertaking: There was no *Bloodshed*, nor so much as any *Plunder* committed in all the *Action*; and setting aside the intemperate Speeches of some inconsiderable men (if there were any such) the people generally gave a Demonstration, That they designed nothing but the securing of some great Malefactors, for the Justice which a course of Law would expose them to, and they were loath to treat them with any incivility beyond the bare keeping of them in sufficient custody. No man underwent any Confinement, but such as the people counted the Enemies of the *Prince of Orange*, and of our *English Liberties*; it was not any passion for the Service of *the Church of England*, that exposed any man to hardship; no, even some of that Com-
munions

vant of Andros, (PALFREY, iii. 586,) that Randolph was seized with Andros; and that when the Governor was asked to order the surrender of the fort, though he refused, Randolph complied, in mortal fear of his life. As Randolph was to deliver the message as coming from Andros, this would make both accounts harmonize.

⁸² Riggs denies that the Governor ordered the delivery of the Castle, but that it was surrendered on a promise that Andros and his friends should be liberated; a promise not kept. It seems indeed probable that where the soldier would refuse, a civilian or subordinate would yield to necessity.

munion did appear in their Arms to assist the enterprize; tho' the Worship of the Church of *England* had the disadvantage with us, that most of our Late Oppressors were the great and sole Pillars of it there. The principal Delinquents being now in durance, and the Frigate secured for the Crown of *England*, our main difficulty was yet behind: Namely what Form we should put our selves into, that the Peace might be kept among us.

A great part of the *Country* was for an immediate Re-assumption of our old Government, conceiving that the vacating of our *Charter* was a most illegal and injurious thing, and that tho' a *Form of Law* had cast us out of it, yet we might now return to it at least as a *Vacuum Domicilium*. Others were of the Opinion, That since Judgment was entred against our *Charter*, and we did not know what Consequence a *wrong step* at this time might have, therefore 'twas best for the Affairs of the Country to continue in the Hands of a *Committee for the Conservation of the Peace*,⁸³ till the daily expected Directions from *England* should arrive unto us. The latter Expedient was condescended unto, but the Sword yet continued in every man's hands, and for divers weeks the Colony continued without any pretence to *Civil Government*; yet thro' the mercy of God, all things were under such good Inclinations among us, that every man gave himself the Laws of good Neighbourhood, and little or nothing extravagant was all that while done, besides the seizure of a few more persons who had made themselves obnoxious to the Displeasure of the People. The Gentlemen of the Committee laid their Country under great Obligations by their Studies for *the Conservation of our Peace*, and it mostly consisted of such as were ever worthy of our esteem. It was made up of them whose Hap 'twas to be in the Head of the late Action; but there were added unto them the
most

⁸³ For names of this Committee see Vol. I, p. 10.

most of our old Magistrates, who had not so far concerned themselves in the Affair. Our former Governour, the Honourable *Simon Bradstreet*, Esq; was Chosen by them for their President: Who tho' he be well towards Ninety Years of Age, has his *Intellectual Force hardly abated*, but retains a vigour and Wisdom that would recommend a younger man to the Government of a greater Colony.

But when the Day which our ancient *Charter* appoints for our Anniversary *Election* drew near, our people grew more and more set upon a Return to the *Basis* on which our *Charter* formerly had placed us; and of those who were thus disposed, some were for an *Election* on the proper Day; others judged that could not be so honestly attended, because a whole County in the *Colony* was too far to have a *Vote* in it, and they therefore were for a Re-assumption the Day following. These *Two* Opinions, with a *Third* which was for the continuing of their *Committee* just as it was, filled the Country; and very potent Numbers espoused each of these three opinions: only we all agreed in joyful expectations of having our *Charter* restored unto us. This Variety of Apprehension was the occasion of much needless Discourse and of many Heart burnings that might as well have been spared. But the Towns on the Eighth and Ninth of May sent in their Representatives at the Desire of the *Committee* to adjust the matters that concerned a further Necessary Settlement; and after many Debates and some Delays they came to this Temper: That our Ancient *Magistrates* should apply themselves unto the *Conservation of our Peace*, and exercise what acts of *Government* the Emergencies might make needful for us, and thus wait for further Directions from the Authority of *England*.

The Country being put into this posture, all things tended unto a good settlement both of *Minds* and *Things*; which were again too much disturbed by a Fire, too justly fear'd to be

be maliciously kindled (by some that made themselves parties to our Late Enemies) in the N * * * * *⁸⁴ whereby *Four Houses* were consumed, but perhaps more than⁸⁴ * * * * * Thousand *Spirits* inflamed into an Heat that was hardly Governable. But our people being in a good measure again compos'd, the World mov'd on in its old orderly pace, until the last week in May when two Ships arriv'd unto us from *England* with more perfect *News* than we had yet been owners of; the first effect thereof was, our Proclaiming of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, with such a Joy, Splendour, Appearance and Unanimity, as had never before been seen in these Territories. The other Colonies are now settling on their old Foundations; and *We*, according to the Advice now brought us, hasten to put our selves into such a condition as may best answer the performance of our Allegiance to their Majesties.

SIR,

This Relation of our State will doubtless give New-England an interest in the Prayers of all Good Men to whom you shall Communicate it: And Yours I hope will not be wanting for the Welfare of

Sir,

Boston, June 6.
1689.

Your Servant

A. B.

The foregoing Account being very carefully and critically Examined, by divers very Worthy and Faithful Gentlemen, was advis'd to be Published for the preventing of False Reports: And is to be Sold at the London-Coffee-House.

⁸⁴ The original is here defective.

[NEW ENGLAND'S FACTION
DISCOVERED,
Or a Brief and True Account of their Per-
secution of the Church of England.

Being an Answer to a Pamphlet entitled
News from New England, &c.

BY

C. D.

London, Printed for J. Hindmarsh, 1690.]

PREFATORY NOTE.

⁸⁵ We have again to acknowledge our indebtedness to JOHN CARTER BROWN, Esq., of Providence, for permission to transcribe this very rare and interesting pamphlet.

The original edition is cited by Palfrey, and an imperfect copy is mentioned by Stevens in his "Nuggets;" yet no copy is to be found in the British Museum.

The title of the pamphlet explains its contents, and it is undoubtedly the ablest vindication of the Andros Government in print. If we may attach any meaning to the initials subscribed to the tract, we should be inclined to consider them as representing Colonel (or Captain) Dudley. Joseph Dudley was one of those who were sent to England to answer the charges against them, and it seems highly probable that as Palmer had published his account, Dudley should also prepare a statement.

The internal evidence is in favor of this being the production of one thoroughly conversant with all the details of the matters preceding the Revolution, and the writer identifies himself with New-England in a manner which a stranger would hardly adopt. If it be urged that Dudley would not have used so transparent a disguise when he preferred not to sign his name, it must be remembered that entire concealment was impracticable, though open confession might be injudicious.

We have still to regret our inability to trace the pamphlet "News from New-England," to which this is a reply. The "Brief Relation of the State of New England," (*ante*, pp. 149-170,) which we have ventured to attribute to the pen of Increase Mather, contains nearly all the points answered in this pamphlet. Still, the differences are sufficient to make it certain that some other publication appeared, and as it will be noticed, this "News from New-England" is assigned to Increase Mather by the writer of "New England's Faction."

We feel that no apology is needed for reproducing this tract, although it is so largely composed of matter already incorporated in the preceding pamphlets. We desire to bring together all the evidence that was submitted to the public at the time, and to furnish students with the materials on which to found a correct judgment of the great revolution of New England.

In Mr. Brown's library there is a pamphlet of eight pages with the following title:

"To the Right Reverend, and Reverend the Bishops, and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, to be Assembled in Convocation at Westminster, A. D. 1690. The humble Petition of many Divines, and others of the Clerical, Congregational, and other Perswasions, in the Name of themselves, and Brethren both of Old England and New, who have been Witnesses to the Truth in the day of Tryal."

This is evidently a Jacobite production, and has but one or two brief references to New-England; none worth repeating.



New-England's Faction Discovered;

OR,

A Brief and True Account of their Persecution of the Church of England; the Beginning and Progress of the War with the Indians; and other Late Proceedings there, in a Letter from a Gentleman of that Country to a Person of Quality.

Being an Answer to a most false and scandalous Pamphlet lately Published; Intituled, News from New-England, &c.

Honourable Sir,



HO I have but very lately advised you of my Arrival, and given you some short and general Account of the State and Circumstance of Affairs in *New-England*, at the time I left the place; which I thought might have been sufficient, until I should have the Honour to wait on you personally; but having had the view of a certain Pamphlet lately Published and Intituled *News from New-England &c*, pretending to give an Account of the Present State of that Country, and finding the same so very fictitious, false and scandalous, published out of a most wicked design to vilifie and traduce some Worthy Gentlemen, who have been better Friends to our Country, than ever the obscure Author thereof

thereof was, or knows how to be, and to amuse and perplex others: I could not forbear out of my Zeal for truth, and the love and value I have for the Peace and Welfare of my Country, to give you the trouble of this Letter, to discover the falshenefs of the pretended News, and the basenefs and ignorance of the Author; who without great difficulty may easily be gueffed at, and known by his fruits.

And therefore it may not be amifs to acquaint you, that about two years fince, one Mr. *J. M.* pretended Teacher of the Gospel in *Boston*, privately left that place and came for *London*, where of his own authority, he fet up to be an Agent for the Country, and ufed all the art and fubtilty he could, during the Reign of King *James*, to indear the fame into the affection of *F. Peters*, Mr. *Brent*, and *Nevil Pain*, undertaking as well for himfelf as us to fubfcribe to the taking off the Penal Laws and Tests, to fupport the Difpenfing Power, and to fatisfie his own malice and prejudice (without any ground or reafon) conceived againft the then Government of *New-England*.

This Man, as it was the opinion of moft fober and confiderate Men when I left *New-England*, fo I may very juftly term the Author and Promoter of all our miferies, founded upon apparent and wittingly devised Lyes and Calumnies, carried on under pretence of Zeal and Piety, infinuated into, and impofed upon many of the common People, hurrying them into mifchiefs and inconveniencies now fufficiently feen, felt, and repented of; Him therefore, I will conclude the author of the before-mentioned Pamphlet; the falfties whereof I fhall now plainly and briefly detect, to prevent your felf and others being impofed upon by him, as many of my Countrymen and others have too lately been.

And in the firft place I cannot omit to take notice of his pofitive confidence to charge a Commiffion granted in due form under the Great Seal of *England*, for the Government
of

of one of Their Majesties Plantations, Illegal and Arbitrary; and that Government a Tyranny, which was by virtue thereof exercis'd with a thousand times more justice and lenity, than when under the pretended Charter, Administration or Commonwealth Discipline, without any Authority for the same whatsoever; if the Author had been but as well acquainted with the Law, as he was with the Declaration he refers to (and no doubt was the first contriver of) he would have been of another judgment, or at least have conceal'd it until the Opinion of his Superiors had been given therein.

2. That the War with the *Indians* was begun, as the Author there relates, or that it was ever affirmed by the *Indians*, that they were encouraged thereto by Sir *E. A.* is wholly false; for in the Summer 1688, when Sir *E. A.* went to receive and settle the Province of *New-York*, then annexed under his Government, it so happened, that a Party of about Nine *French Indians* fell upon an *Indian* Plantation at a place called *Spectacle pond*, near *Springfield*, on *Connecticott* River, and kill'd and carried away about Nine *Indians*, and after coming to a small Village on that River called *Northfield*, they killed six Christians, and being pursu'd, fled; the noise of these Murthers soon spread throughout the Country, and notice was given thereof to all the Frontier or Out-parts, advising them to be vigilant and careful to prevent Surprise by any strange or suspected *Indians*; and soon after this news came to *Saco*, (a Town and River in the Province of *Maine* above three hundred miles distant from the places before-named, called by that name) Five *Indian* Men, and Sixteen Women and Children, who had always lived and planted on that River, were seized on, and sent by Water to *Boston*, some of whom were so old and feeble that they were forced to be carried when ashore, on others backs. On their arrival at *Boston*, the Lieutenant Governor and those of the Council there, examined into the cause of seizing those Indians and
sending

fending them thither; but finding that no Cause was sent with them, nor any ground or reason to hold them in Custody, they returned them to the place from whence they came, to be set at liberty; but before they arrived there, the English near those parts were got to their Arms and Garrisons: Other *Indians* of *Ambrosoggen* and *Kenebeque* River, hearing that those of *Saco* were seized and sent away, forthwith surprized as many of the *English* in *Cascobay* and *Kenebeque* River, saying, they intended no harm, but would keep them until the *Indians* were returned: Upon the Arrival of the returned *Indians*, they were sent unto, and a day and place agreed upon when both the *English* and *Indians* were to be set at liberty, and all to be composed; but the *Indians* not coming at the time appointed, the *English* waited not for them, but were not long gone ere they came, and by an *English* Man and two *Indians*, sent a Letter to the next Garison, importing their readiness to deliver up the *English*, and to make satisfaction for any hurt or spoil done by them; who from that Garison were Fired upon and ill treated, and not seeing how what they expected could be answered, some of them discover'd other *English* Men on a Neck of Land near the place appointed to meet at, and endeavouring to seize some of them, were engaged in a Skirmish where five of the *English* were killed and several of the *Indians* wounded, who presently after in rage killed two of the *English* captives.

In this manner, and no other was the War begun; whereupon two Troops of Soldiers were raised, and sent to the assistance of those parts against the *Indians*, with Provision and Ammunition necessary, by those of the Council at *Boston*, and the *Indians* first mentioned to be taken, were again sent back and Imprisoned; and all in the absence of Sir *E. A.* Upon his arrival at *Boston* and being informed of the above, and that such *Indians* were in Prison, a Committee of the Council was appointed to examine and see what Grounds or Cause

Cause there was for their Commitment or Detainer ; and the Committee reporting they could find none, those *Indians* were by order of Council set at liberty, to be sent to the place from whence they were brought if they desired it ; As for the mischief said to be sustained by the Inhabitants there, it cannot be imputed to those *Indians*, for it was either done while they were in custody, or since the Rebellion and Subversion over the Government, from whence begins the date of our Miseries ; and I have just reason to believe, the Author was too far concerned therein, as is evident by his directing of his Letters to *Simon Broadstreet*, Esq. ; Governor of the *Massachusetts* &c, before it was possible for him to know that he was so, or could have any ground to believe he would be, unless he had contrived or directed it.

3. There was no endeavours used to keep the People ignorant of Affairs in *England*, nor were any Imprisoned for dispersing the Prince's Declaration ; which was never publicly seen or known to be in *New-England*, till some time after the Insurrection : Tho I have heard, that one *Winslow* arriving at *Boston* from *Nevis*, about the beginning of *April* 1688, and pretending to shew to several persons a Written Copy of the said Declaration, was sent for before a Justice, and being examined about the said writing, denied he had any such thing ; and behaving himself contemptuously, he was committed to Prison ; and the next Morning, producing the same paper to the Justice, he was discharged without any further trouble or proceeding ; and this was all that was acted in *New-England*, relating to the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration ; so that there was no grounds or reasons to stir up the People to Sedition, but only the ambitious desires and wicked inclinations of their former Popular Magistrates and Members, to set up their old Arbitrary Commonwealth Government, that freeing themselves from the Authority of *England*, they might without fear of punishment,

ment, break all the Laws made for the encouragement and increafe of the Navigation of *England*, and regulating and fecuring the Plantation Trade, as is fufficiently evident by the feveral Veffels fince arrived from *Holland*, *Scotland*, *Newfoundland*, and other places prohibited by the Acts of Trade and Navigation.

And that fuch was their design, to rend themselves from the Crown of *England*, will appear by the free and open confeffion of fome well knowing in that Conſpiracy; who have fince declared (before Witneffes of undenyable truth now here in *England*) that the design of feizing upon Sir *E. A.*, and ſubverting Kingly Government in *New-England* had been long contrived and reſolved on, and was to have been done the beginning of *January* 1688; and that thoſe concerned in the late Revolution were then to have acted the like parts, at which time there was no account of the Prince of *Orange's* intention of coming into *England* known in that Land.

4. It cannot be ſaid that ever any unlawful Levies of Money were made upon the Subject under the Government of Sir *E. A.*, for all that was raiſed in his time was by virtue of a Law made and praſtiſed for about Fifty Years before, which was continued and confirmed by expreſs command under the Great Seal of *England*, for ſupport of the Government, and was but a Rate of one Penny in the Pound, to be annually collected by Warrant from the Treafurer; which thoſe who lately aſſumed the Government have ſo far exceeded, that for about Six Months management, they have cauſed ſeven Rates and an half to be levied; and I have ſince advice that they have ordered Ten Rates more to be exacted.

5. By the Actings and Proceedings of theſe *New-England* Reformers, it is eaſily to be ſeen, what regard they had to Religion, Liberty and Property; having now had the opportunity

tunity to make themselves Persecutors of the Church of *England*, as they had before been of all others that did not comply with their Independency, whom they punished with Fines, Imprisonment, Stripes, Banishment, and Death; and all for matters of meer Conscience and Religion only: The Church of *England*, altho commanded to be particularly countenanced and encouraged, was wholly destitute of a place to perform Divine Service in, until Sir *E. A.* by advice of the Council, borrowed the new Meeting-house in *Boston* for them, at such times when others made no use of it, and afterwards promoted and encouraged the building of a New Church for that Congregation, to avoid all manner of Offence to their dissenting Neighbors, which was soon compleated and finished at the particular charge of those of the Church of *England*; whose number daily increasing, they became the envy as well as hatred of their Adversaries, who by all ways and means possible, as well in their Pulpits as private Discourse, endeavour'd to asperse, calumniate, and defame them; and so far did their malice and bigotry prevail, that some of them openly and publicly hindered and obstructed the Minister in the performance of the funeral Rites, to such as had lived and dyed in the Communion of the Church of *England*: And a most scandalous Pamphlet was soon after Printed and Published by *Cotton Mather*,⁸⁶ Son of the before-mentioned *J. M.*, intituled "the unlawfulness of the Common-prayer Worship," wherein he affirms and labours to prove the same to be both Popery and Idolatry; and several scandalous Libels both against the Church and Government, were spread and scattered up and down the Country, insinuating into the Common People, that the Governor and all of the Church of *England* were Papists and Idolaters, and to stir

⁸⁶ We suspect that the writer was mistaken in giving Cotton Mather the credit of this book. Increase Mather wrote on this subject, and the second edition of his pamphlet was published in London in 1689. (See Vol. 1, p. 180, note.)

fir them up to Faction and Rebellion, for which the said *Cotton Mather* and others were bound over to answer according to Law, but was superseded by their Insurrection. And the Justices having issued their Warrant for the observation of the 30th. of *January* pursuant to Statute, the same was called in and suppressed by Captain *Waite Winthrop*, one of the Council, who in the Commotion appeared the chief Man and Head of the Faction against the Government, which he twice swore to maintain and support, and tho at the time of the Revolution most of the Principal Officers in the Government were of the Independent and Presbyterian Party, yet their malice and fury was not shewn to any of them, but only used and exercised against those of the Church of *England*, whom (as well the Governor as other Officers of the Government, and principal Members of that Church) they seized and most barbarously Imprisoned.

The Church it self had great difficulty to withstand their fury, receiving the marks of their indignation and scorn, by having the Windows broke to pieces, and the Doors and Walls daubed and defiled with dung and other filth, in the rudest and basest manner imaginable, and the Minister for his safety was forced to leave the Country and his Congregation, and go for *England*,⁸⁷ the Persons Imprisoned were kept and detained without any Warrant, *Mittimus* or cause shewn, and several of them had their Offices and Houses broke open, their Goods and Estates taken away, spoiled and embezzled: and when application was made to the new assumed Authority, for the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and other Laws made for the Liberty of the Subject and security of their Property, the same was denied with this reason given amongst others afterwards there published
in

⁸⁷ GREENWOOD (History of King's cliffe. He left previous to July 27, Chapel, p. 44.) does not allude to any 1689, as the expenses of his voyage enforced departure of the Rector, Rat- were then paid by the Church.

in Print; that till the unhappy time of Sir *Edmund's* Government, the Laws of *England* were never used, nor any *Habeas Corpus* granted in *New-England*, and therefore not to be expected then; and about Ten Weeks after their Confinement, several of the Chief Officers were by the House of Representatives voted not bailable, for no other cause or pretended Crimes than for being employed by the Crown, having therein so faithfully and truly behaved themselves that none could justly lay any Crime to their Charge.

By this means many suffered Ten Months Imprisonment and others less, being turn'd in and out of Goal as the Arbitrary pleasure of their New Rulers should be verbally known: In their new Erected Courts they have publicly declared, they have nothing to do with the Laws of *England*, and several of Their Majesties Subjects have not only been Fined and Imprisoned by the Arbitrary Will of the Magistrates, without any lawful Tryal by a Jury of their Peers as the Laws of the Land direct, but for pretended Crimes sentenced to Death, without any lawful Authority or Legal Form of proceedings, and some of them Executed.

6. It is very true, that since the Imprisonment of the Governor and alteration of the Government in *New-England*, the whole County of *Cornwall*, great part of the Province of *Maine*, and part of the province of *New-hampshire*, are over-run and destroyed by the *Indians*; but the occasion thereof has been by that Insurrection, and the withdrawing of the Forces left in those Parts by Sir *E. A.* and deserting the Garisons there, which was also the loss of the Fort at *Pemaquid* and above three Hundred of His Majesty's Subjects there; and, notwithstanding the Malice of the Author, cannot be the least imputation on Sir *E. A.*, who during the time of his Government kept the whole Dominion from injury, save what was done at first by surprizal; as by every honest man will be confessed; for what was done in releasing
the

the *Indians* before mentioned was not an Act of Favour but Justice, nor done by him alone but with advice of the Council, and I can see no reason why either *Indians* or *English* should be Imprisoned or Restrained of their Liberty without sufficient cause, or why if one Indian commits an Offence, all must be blamed or punished for it, tho they are things to often used and practised by our old Charters in *New-England*.

Neither were the numbers or quality of those Indians capable of doing such mischief, tho the follies and madness of the People since the Revolution have encouraged and provoked many to be their Enemies, and increased their numbers, and no doubt given the *French* fair advantages to come into their assistance.

The Fort of *Pemaquid* was burnt by the *Indians*, and the Guns sometime after fetched from thence, by some of the Forces sent from *Boston* and brought thither by them, so that what is mentioned about the *Dutch* Privateer is wholly false.

7. As to the pretended bloody Fight said to be between the *English* and *Indians*, it was only after this manner: A Party of about three hundred *English* and Friend *Indians*, under the command of Captain *Benjamin Church*, being over-night landed at a Town called *Falmouth* in *Cascobay*, in the Province of *Maine*, the next Morning early, a Party of *Indians* of about two hundred came to attack that place, who meeting with *Anthony Brackett* and his two Sons going to his Farm a little distant from the Town, they Fired and Killed⁸⁸ them,

⁸⁸ The account of this transaction is given by CHURCH in his History of King Philip's War, &c. (DEXTER'S edition, ii, 16-28.) It seems that Capt. Anthony Brackett was killed, but his sons escaped. Church's account fully confirms the statement that our troops had to hammer their bullets into flugs, and thus lost valuable time. He reported eleven killed and ten wounded, of whom three died. As to the Indian loss, Church

wrote, "We know not yet what damage we did to the enemy in our last engagement, but several things that they left behind them on their flight we found yesterday, which was gun-cases and stockings and other things of some value, together with other signs that make us think we did them considerable damage." The writer of the text might therefore fairly say, that it was not known that one Indian was killed.

them, and by that alarmed the place ; and thereupon a Party was sent to discover, who advised what they were, and that they were very near the Town ; the whole number of Men being all called together had Ammunition delivered them, but by reason of the unfizableness of their Guns and Shot, they were forced to beat their Bullets into Slugs, which made it late before they could March to the Enemy, who in the mean time had the opportunity to post themselves advantageously behind Fences, Hedges, Old Trees, &c. and in that manner they engaged ; and after about two hours dispute the *Indians* retreated into a small swamp, and our Forces left them with the loss of Eleven Men and Seven wounded, of which Five after dyed ; but it was not known that one *Indian* was killed : and this is all we can brag of in that Service, which was only fortunate in that the Forces were there when the *Indians* came to attack the Place, which else probably they would have carried ; tho it's believed had our Forces been ready to have attacked and pursued the Enemy, some greater advantage might have been gained ; but by late Advice I am informed that Place is also deserted.

There is little dependence on those we call our Friend *Indians*, for they are as great Strangers in the Eastern Country as the *English*, and will not travel or venture farther than they, tho being used to the Woods, may be quicker sighted to discover the Enemy. You may perceive the fiery Zeal of the Author and his Correspondent, who will not admit of a charitable Expression or Character of his suffering Neighbours, but after they have been the cause of all their Miseries and Ruine, must expect no other comfort from them than to be accounted and termed Heathenish *English* Plantation ; for which I cannot conceive any reason, unless that many in those parts have been differently educated from those of *Boston*, and are of the Church of *England*, whose Forefathers for that cause only were forced to remove so far
to

to escape the lash of their Persecutors in the *Massachusetts* Colony.

8. We have no reason to brag of our Armies Pursuit after the Enemy, for it was never known that any Party last Summer went twenty Miles from our Settlements (or Place where they had done us mischief) after them, neither according to the methods taken would it avail if they had; for tho they knew the *Indians* are in Arms, and taking all the Opportunities to attack and destroy them, yet no suitable Provision was made for our out-Towns and Frontiers for their Security and Defence; but after Advice given to *Boston* of a Town or Settlement being burn'd and destroyed, in about a Fortnights time an Army or Party of about two or three hundred Men would be sent to the Place to see if it were true or not, and whether the *Indians* did not stay for their coming; which Army of ours usually abide thereabouts till they have eaten and consumed what stock of Cattle or Sheep the *Indians* had left, and then return home again.

That any Captives, escaped from the *Indians*, affirm that the *Indians* say they are encouraged by some Gentlemen in *Boston* vigorously to prosecute the War, is mere Invention and a most false and groundless Imputation, unless by such Gentlemen in Boston are meant *Foster* and *Waterhouse*,⁸⁹ two of their own Party, who being of the Conspiracy to subvert the Government, sometime in *March*, about a month before the same was put in Execution, loaded a Brigantine with Provision and Ammunition at *Boston*, and entered her for Bermudoes, but sent her to the Eastward amongst the *French* and *Indians* then in actual War with us, and furnished them therewith, when the Governor and the Forces were out against them and had reduced them to the greatest want

⁸⁹ These were probably John Foster and David Waterhouse, both signers of the Declaration against Andros.

want and necessity both for Provision and Ammunition ; and soon after the Revolution that Vessel returned from those Parts with her Loading of Bever and Peltry, which was publickly known and talked, but no notice taken thereof, the grievous effects of which the Country well knows, and are very sensible thereof.

The two Captives that last escaped and came to *Boston*, related, that by the Service done by Sir *E. A.*, the last Winter was Twelve-months, against the *Indians*, they were reduced to that necessity both for Ammunition and Provision, that in the Spring following they resolved to come in and surrender themselves at Mercy, which they no doubt had done accordingly, if the Revolution at *Boston* had not happened, the Forces being drawn off from the Eastern Parts, Garrisons deserted, and they supplied with Ammunition and Provision from *Boston*, which was the only encouragement they had to renew and continue the War upon us, and has much increased the Numbers of our Enemies.

'T is true the Mohawks (tho a small) are a warlike Nation, and have been long Enemies to the *French* in *Canada*, and now in War with them ; but that no ways affects us in *New-England* any otherwise than as it is some Diversion to the *French* ; for those *Indians* that war against us are in a direct opposite part of the Country, remote from them, and can be supplied from *Canada*, *Port-Royal*, and *Nova Scotia*, altho those Mohawks endeavour to obstruct it ; and I could never hear any Offer made by them to that purpose, or that they would engage against our Enemies, for we never had any Acquaintance or Correspondency with them, to influence them to our Assistance, they being very remote from *Boston*, and always under the Government of *New-York* : but I have been informed by Letters from Persons of good credit at *Albany*, that when the Agents sent from *Boston* to treat with the *Mohawks* and renew their Peace and Friendship with
them

them and desire their Assistance, proposed the same, the *Mohawks* replied, That it was unnecessary for them to come so far to renew their Peace, since it was to the *Indians* Knowledge there had been no War between them, and that they had not only by Words but by Action, manifested their good Heart to the *English*, particularly to *New-England*, since they had by means of the Government of *New-York* engaged themselves in the last *Indian* War for their Interest, against the *Indians* their Enemies, by which much Christian blood was saved, altho but little notice of their Service has been taken by those who had the benefit thereof: that they were then in War against the *French*, and would not increase the number of their Enemies until they certainly knew that those Eastern *Indians* assisted the *French* against them. This is the sum and truth of that Negotiation which cost us above four hundred Pounds Expence; and what Advantage or Credit we are like to get thereby, all Men may judge.

We of *New England* (I find) are too apt to boast of what we neither understand nor have any assurance of, and build too much on mistaken Notions and false Grounds, as in this Case of the *Indians*.

9. The Story about the *Mohawks*, Jesuits, and Eclipse of the Sun, has not been heard of or acted in any part of *New-England*, but as I am informed, is an old Story taken out of some History of the Spanish *Indies*, and only inserted by the Author to enlarge his strange News, and fill up his Paper.

But it must be admitted, that with those *Mohawks* and other *Indians* several *French* Priests and Jesuits have dwelt and inhabited, and endeavoured to propagate their Religion amongst them, which is more than any of our *English* Priests or Teachers have done; for altho by the Piety of our Forefathers considerable Sums of Money have been given, and a Corporation erected for the Evangelizing of the *Indians* in
New-England,

New-England, a very small progress hath been hitherto made therein; and now scarce any Endeavours or proper Means used at all for their Conversion, the large Sums of Money are annually sent over and disposed of amongst the Brotherhood on that pretence, which the Government or those chiefly concerned therein, would do well to enquire after, now there are so many of that Country here, capable to give an Account thereof, that so good and pious an Undertaking may be neither neglected nor perverted.

10. It is too true, that great Devastations have been made in *New-England* by the *Indians* since the Revolution there, which those that subverted their Majesties Government have been and are the sole occasion of; and that the Fort of Pemaquid, a considerable Frontier next the *French*, hath been taken, the whole County of *Cornwal*, greatest part of the Province of *Maine*, and part of the Province of *Hampshire*, are destroyed and deserted, besides other Mischiefs in the *Massachusetts* Colony within thirty Miles of *Boston*; the loss and damage of all which when I left *New-England*, was not computed at less than one hundred thousand Pounds, besides the loss of above three hundred of their Majesties Subjects, and the whole Fish, Mast and Lumber Trade, and all Out-parts forced to Garrisons.

But that so considerable a Force (as is pretended) was sent out against the said *Indians* is a Misinformation; for there was not one Man sent from Connecticut last Summer, nor had they resolved to be concerned in the War, tho much persuaded thereto by those of the *Massachusetts*: and when I left those Parts and for some Months before, there was not a Soldier out; and they have reason enough to apprehend an Attack from the *French* as well as *Indians*, in the Spring, so soon as the Rivers are open and the Snow of the Ground; which (by their present ill Management, want of Authority, and the many Divisions amongst them) they will not be in a pasture

posture to resist, nor to defend and secure themselves and Country.

11. I did hear before I left *New-England*, that about sixty Men were ordered to march for *Albany* from the several Towns on *Connecticott* River; but whether they were to assist those of *Albany* against the *French*, or to reduce them under the Subjection of that Rebel *Leslier* (who by the evil Instigation of those of *Boston* and *Connecticott* had usurped the Government of *New-York*, which those of *Albany* always refused to submit to, but continued as they were) was a great Question, and can only be known by their Fruits and Service.]

The base imputation, which the unworthy Author of the scurrilous Paper would cast on Sir *E. A.* and other Persons concerned in Their Majesties Government, I think are not worth my taking any particular notice of, since both his and their Actions do plainly shew them of whom he so speaks to be Faithful and Loyal Subjects: And from the whole scope of proceedings in *New-England* it is most plain that the late Subverters of the Government had no manner of regard to Their Majesties Interest or Service, but when they had as far as possible ruined and destroyed the same, thought themselves obliged to endeavour their own Security and Preservation, which if His Majesty doth not speedily help by settling of the Government and giving them further assistance from hence, they are not in a condition to maintain, but will endanger the loss of the whole Country. As is evident by the further late advice we have of the *French* and *Indians* Incursions upon those parts, the loss of *Schenectade* a considerable frontier Town near *Albany*, and of several settlements on *Piscataqua* River, with about two hundred more of Their Majesties Subjects killed and carried away Captives, and the several other Parties of *French* and *Indians* we hear are out, designed to fall on other parts of that Country, and feared n *Albany* it self.

This

This Sir, is the true tho miserable Condition of that Country, as can be particularly made [to] appear whenever it shall be inquired into, and must pray your Assistance to endeavor a Redress of its present inconveniences, and that we may obtain their Majesty's favour for a happy settlement, that so considerable a Dominion on the prosperity of which depends the Welfare of Their Majesty's other *West-India* Plantations, may not be ruined and destroyed for want of Their Gracious Protection. Begging your Pardon for this tedious discourse, I presume to subscribe my self

Honoured Sir,

Your Most Humble Servant,

C. D.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *J. Hindmarsh*, at the Sign of the *Golden Ball*,
over against the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*. 1690.



[R E A S O N S

For the Confirmation of the Charters
of the Corporations in New-England,

By INCREASE MATHER.

London, 1689-1690.]





REASONS *for the Confirmation of* *the Charters belonging to the several* *Corporations in New-England.*⁹⁰

Reason I. THE first Planters in that *American* Defart, did without putting the Crown to a Penny charge, enlarge the Kings Dominions, in Confidence that not Themselves only, but their Posterity should enjoy those Priviledges which by their Charters were assured to them. Now when they have performed their part, and been at vast Charges, whereby the Crown and the *Englisht* Nation have been many wayes advantaged, it will seem an hard Case, that those Priviledges should be taken from their Children. Nor may we suppose that in the Dayes of K. *William*, They shall be deprived of what was granted to them by K. *James* and K. *Charles I.* and continued to them by K. *Charles II.* untill the last year of his Reign.

Reas. 2. To deprive the People there of their ancient Rights and Priviledges by their Charters belonging to them, is to act contrary to His present Majesties gracious Inclinations.

⁹⁰ A similar Paper of Reasons, also covering four pages, was published by the Massachusetts agents. It is headed REASONS | for the | CONFIRMATION | of the | CHARTER | Belonging to the | Massachusetts Colony | in | NEW-ENGLAND. | The variations are given in the following notes.

tions. For his Majesty when Prince of *Orange*, in his Declaration assures us, that He designed *to secure to the whole Nation the free Enjoyment of all their Laws, Rights and Liberties*. And in His Majesties Letter bearing date August 12th 1689. to those who at present administer the Government in the *Massachusetts Colony*, his Majesty is graciously pleased to signify to them, *that the Government there shall be settled so as shall be to the satisfaction of His Subjects in that Colony*. And this was written in Answer to their humble Address, praying that their ancient Government by Charter might be restored to them; nor will any thing else satisfy the generality of the Inhabitants, as is manifest by the unanimous Declaration of the *Convention* there, published at *Boston* in *New-England*, May 24. 1689. As also by the several Addresses which since that have been humbly presented to the Majesty from the several Colonies in *New-England*. Some that know the Temper of that People, do confidently affirm, That there is not one in an hundred amongst the Inhabitants of that Territory, which does not desire that their Government by Charter might be continued by them: If the King shall please to gratify them therein, They will cheerfully Expose themselves and all that is dear to Them in this World, to serve his Majesty. But if their former Rights and Privileges be with-held from Them, it will cause an universal dissatisfaction and discouragement amongst them. Nor can any thing be thought of, that will more Endanger their being ruin'd by the *French*, than the taking from Them their Charter Liberties: As is manifest in that, when They enjoyed their Charters, they easily subdued their Enemies, but since that it has been otherwise.⁹¹

Reas. 3.

⁹¹ Here the *Massachusetts* copy adds, against the *French*, than the Government not being settled there on its hands more in their late Expeditions former Charter-Foundation."

Reas. 3. The People of *New-England* have acquitted Themselves so, as that we know not what more could have been done by Them to manifest their Loyalty to His present Majesty:⁹² For as soon as ever They heard that the Prince of *Orange* was Landed in *England*, before they knew what the Event of things would be, They Embarked themselves in that glorious Cause which the Prince declared for. And they no sooner heard the Prince was King in *England*, but they did with the greatest Alacrity proclaim Him their King in *New-England*, and that before They had any Command from the Court of *England* so to do; and the several Governments of *New-England*, have of late agreed to defend that Territory for his present Majesty,⁹² against all Enemies whatever.

Reas. 4. Only one of the Charters belonging to the several Corporations in *New-England*, was by any Judgment against them taken away, *Viz.* the Charter of the *Massachusetts*. As for the Colonies of *Connecticut* and *Rhode-Island*, no Judgment was Entred against them: Only pretended Surrenders, of which there is no Record. And as for *Plymouth* Colony (who plead Right to their Priviledges by Prescription) there was nothing to be alledged against them: only their ancient Rights and Priviledges were ravished from Them.⁹³ But we are sure that His present Majesty will not consent that these Colonies should have their Priviledges taken from Them, whose Charters were Never condemned, nor any Legal Surrenders made; and to take away one Charter upon pretence of Forfeiture, when the other Three⁹⁴ remain valid, will put the Territory into confusion; especially considering,

Reas. 5.

⁹² "their present Majesties." *Massachusetts* copy.

⁹⁴ The word "Three" is omitted in the other version.

⁹³ This clause about *Plymouth* Colony is omitted in the *Massachusetts* copy.

Reas. 5. The Charter of the *Massachusetts* Colony was Illegally wrested from Them.⁹⁵ When the *Quo Warranto* was issued out against Them, in the Year 1683, the then King did by his Declaration enjoin a few particular Persons to make their Defence at their own Charge, without any Help by a publick Stock; which shewed there was a Resolution to take away that Charter: The Suit being let fall in the Court of *Kings Bench*, a new Suit began by *Scire Facias* in Court of *Chancery*, where Time was not allowed to make a Defence. The Agent⁹⁶ of that Colony brought several Merchants to Testifie, that in the time allowed (which was from *April* the 16th. till *June* 18.) it was Impossible to have a⁹⁷ Letter of Attorney returned from *New-England*. The then Lord Keeper *North* replied, That no time ought to be given,⁹⁸ in regard that all Corporations ought to have Attorneys in Court at all times, to appear for Them on all Occasions. So was Judgment Entred against Them before They could plead for Themselves.

Reason 6. The Honourable House of *Commons* in the last Parliament, voted, That the taking away Charters from *New-England*, (as well as from the Corporations here in *England*) was Illegal and a Grievance, and that those Charters should be restored.

Reas. 7. ⁹⁹ Since Charters were taken from the Corporations in *New-England*, the Crown of *England* has been put to

⁹⁵ This clause reads in the other copy, "As for the Charter of the *Massachusetts* Colony, it was thus taken from them."

⁹⁶ "The former Attorney of that Colony."—*Massachusetts* copy.

⁹⁷ "a New Letter."—*Massachusetts* copy.

⁹⁸ The *Massachusetts* copy stops here in

the report of Lord North's speech, omitting all about the necessity of the attorneys' being always in Court.

⁹⁹ In place of these Reasons 7 and 8, the *Massachusetts* printed Memorial concludes thus:

"*Reas. 7.* It will be no Prejudice to the Crown, nor to the Kingdom of *England*, but the contrary, if Charter-Privileges

to charge to maintain the Government, which it never was before. Nor has any advantage in the least accrued to the Nation, or to the publick Revenue thereby, but the contrary.

Reas. 8. Their Charters make them dependent on the Crown of *England*: And as an Acknowledgment thereof, a fifth part of Royal Oar is the Kings. And they are by their Charters bound not to make any Laws repugnant to the Laws of *England*. And they did before the late *Quo Warranto's* against their Charter, Repeal the few Laws which were thought to be so. They are obliged to take the Oath of Allegiance; they obey all Acts of Parliament which concerns the Regulating of Trade. All Warrants are issued out in the Kings Name.

Priviledges be restored, and Confirmed to his Majesties Subjects in *New-England*. For they Pray for no Charter, but what shall make them *depend* on the Crown, as the Corporations here in *England* do: Nor to have any Laws which shall be repugnant to the Laws in *England*. And in a particular manner they are desirous to comply with the Acts of Parliament for the encouragement of Navigation and Trade, and that the Transgressors thereof should be Punished according to Law. Since Charters were taken from the Corporations in *New-England*, the Crown of *England* has been put to Charge to maintain the Government, which it never was before: Nor has any advantage in the least accrued to the Nation or the Publick Revenue thereby. His Majesties Subjects in *New-England*

have lately reduced the *French* in *Acady* unto Obedience to the Crown of *England*: If the like should be done in *Canada*, that would be worth Millions to the *English* Crown and Nation: not only in respect of the Bever-Trade, but in that the Fishery of those parts and of *New-found-land* also, would be entirely in the hands of the *English*, to the great Encouragement of Trade, and the increasing of *English* Sea-men. If his Majesty shall graciously please to restore his Subjects in *New-England* to their ancient Priviledges, that will encourage them a second time to attempt the reducing of *Canada*, in which if they shall (as in Case they be assisted with Frigats from *England*, in probability they shall) have good success, a profitable and very considerable Addition will be made to our Kings Dominions."

NOTE ON THE PRECEDING TRACT.

¹⁰⁰ These Reasons are undoubtedly the work of Increase Mather, since in his "Account of the Agents," hereafter reprinted in this volume, he writes: "Immediately after this, the King began his Royal Voyage for Holland, untill whose Happy Return nothing could be effected as to the Settlement of New-England. In the mean time I drew up several Reasons for the Confirmation of Charter-Privileges to the Massachusetts Colony, which I dispersed among the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council." The date of King William's departure was the eighteenth of January, 1690-1.

The Agents who may have been consulted in preparing these Reasons were Mather, Ashurst, Cooke and Oakes for Massachusetts. The Rev. Ichabod Wifwall, though not formally accredited, acted as the representative of Plymouth Colony. Rhode Island was represented possibly by Christopher Almy, and Connecticut by William Whiting. Still we have Mather's testimony that he prepared the Massachusetts appeal, and on it that of the other Corporations is based entirely.

We may perhaps here give a few particulars concerning Sir Henry Ashurst, whose services as Agent for the Colony were so considerable. This gentleman was the son of Henry Ashurst, of London, who was the third son of Henry Ashurst, the representative of a family for many generations resident in Lancashire. Henry Ashurst, of London, was a merchant of considerable fortune, and one of the principal founders of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He died in 1680, and of his four sons, one, Sir William Ashurst, was Lord Mayor of London in 1693. The eldest son, Sir Henry Ashurst, was created a baronet by James II. on the 21st of July, 1688. He was for a long time a member of Parliament, and was the intimate friend of Sir Robert Boyle. HUTCHINSON (ii. 131) adds that "he was a zealous dissenter, accompanied Mr. Baxter when he was brought to his trial before a savage judge, was at the expense of fees for his council, and after the trial led him through the crowd and conveyed him away in a coach." Ashurst and Constantine Phips continued as Agents from 1692 to 1702, but at the latter date Ashurst was dismissed from his position by his ungrateful constituents. HUTCHINSON writes: "The sending these addresses to Phips was grievous to Ashurst. Although he had not very shining talents, yet being a member of parliament, having a great family interest, and being an honest man and conscientious in the discharge of his trust, he had been very serviceable to the province. He had however the fate of most agents. As soon as the party against him found they were strong enough, they left him out of the agency, and he made frequent complaints that they had slighted his services, and neglected giving him an adequate reward." In 1710 the Colony tried unsuccessfully to prevail on his brother, Sir William, to accept the agency.

Sir Henry died at Waterstock, 13th April, 1710, and the title passed to his only son, Sir Henry, who was married but died *s. p.* the 17th of May, 1732, when the baronetcy became extinct. Frances, the only daughter of Sir Henry Ashurst, married Sir Richard Allin, and their heiress Diana m. her second cousin Thomas Henry Ashurst, so that there are now numerous descendants bearing the name and inheriting the blood of the friend of Massachusetts Colony.

THE
Humble Addrefs
OF THE
PUBLICANS
OF
NEW-ENGLAND,
To which KING you please;
WITH SOME
REMARKS
Upon it.

*A Publican is a Creature that lives upon the
Common-wealth.*

LONDON: Printed in the Year, 1691.



THE PROEM.

THE Sect of Publicans, being of late years increased to a number, not only far exceeding that of the Republicans, but, if you will believe themselves, to a Multitude beyond all others; and such Swarms of these Locusts appeared among us in the last years of the Late King Charles, that the Trade grew very low, and the Craft was almost worn Thred-bare; at least for such as were not considerable Proficients in the Profession: Therefore some of the weaker Brethren began to look out for Employment, and to think of Transporting themselves somewhere else; and after some inquiry, they were told of New-England: A Place, where there still dwelt, (as they were informed) some Men of Conscience, and shrewdly suspected to be Republicans; a sort of People, whose Interest and Principles is clearly contrary to that of the Publicans; for your Republicans are clearly for keeping what they have; but your Publicans are for taking it away.

But above all they understood, That the People of New-England were grown exceeding Rich, and that, without doubt, they had been so employ'd in improving themselves, as to have little or no leisure to study Court-Fuggles, and little Tricks: And therefore like to be the easier purchase for a parcel of poor hungry Publicans. This was no sooner known, but the Party dispatch'd Messengers on purpose to see if things were so: The Agents soon performed their Part, and brought back word,

word, That the People of New-England were possess'd of great quantities of Republican Money, Old Puritan Lands, and other Common-wealth Goods. But the only difficulty was, that though the simplicity of the People made them the easier to be impos'd upon, as to the Passive part: yet for the Active, it made the work more difficult: for that simplicity and plainness of the People was attended with a certain sort of Dullness and Stupidity, which rendred them very incapable of Learning the Arts of Lying, Cheating, Dissembling, and Tricking, with some other fundamental Principles of the Publican Profession.

Thus they saw it next to impossible, to make any thing of a Party in New-England, and without a considerable Interest there, they found it hard to accomplish their ends, viz. To rob one half by the Assistance of the other.

Whilst they found things thus in New-England, they began to think of some Measures here at home, where their Party was become more considerable and eminent. Wherefore they propos'd the doing that by a few, to which they could not persuade great numbers: And that principally by the Assistance of their Friends from hence; and therefore in the Beginning, and very near the End of the late King James his Reign, they corrupted a few, by the assistance of whom, and considerable Supplies from hence, they began their work.

Their first entrance was with the usual Ceremonies of Fraud and Deceit: But when they had gotten a little footing, they laid aside their Mask and fell to downright Violence.

In the first place, they assembled all the money, Ships, Goods, Merchandizes, and other Common-wealth Commodities they could find; and condemned them to suffer the utmost Severities of Law: And when Moveables began to fail them they fell upon the poor Innocent Houses and Lands, although they had been granted forever by the Kings, James and Charles the first, of Glorious Memory, who were far enough in reason
from

from being either Republicans or Puritans. But it seems the silly Lands, by some unlucky Accident or other, have since changed their Religion.

Finally they soon convinced the New-English-men, that tho' it were not reasonable for them to expect that the English Liberties could follow them to the ends of the earth, as some of the Publicans were pleased to express it ; yet so long as they had any Common wealth Commodities remaining, the Tricks, Juggles, and Designs of the Publicans would never forsake them.

But while they were thus busie, and most of the Rich men gone, or going away, and the Poor not able to stay, things began of a sudden to change the face in England, where the old Publicans began to scamper, and the young ones, being a People commonly of good easie and pliable Consciences, began to turn with the times.

The New-English took the opportunity, and, as it were in a Moment, laid aside the Publicans, sending a parcel of their Gang from whence they came. But some of the Spawn still remaining, and finding that though the alteration of the Government in England was quite contrary to their Interest and Principles, yet seeing it had more of the Block than the Stork, they resolved to play upon it.

And the Party in England began their Projects again, and sent several Representatives to Court, among which the following Address is one of the most Famous.

But whilst the Address was a hammering out by the Miserable Party in New-England, the Publicans here post over the French Kings Successes, and the Addressers being at the same time informed of the Disappointment at Canada : And therefore between Hope and Fear they knew not what to do : To send a Representation to King William and Queen Mary, they thought by no means adviseable, considering their hopes that King James might be returned to England before its Arrival,
and

and then their dear Loyalty might be called in Question: And to France they could not conveniently send one, because the Commerce was stopt, and they had no money to pay for Expresses, and therefore they resolved upon an Address with a Mental Reservation in the Belly on't, For which King you Please; only they resolved to do it, and word it so, that if King James were indeed come back, they should have no difficulty to perswade that it was wholly and only intended for him; and should it happen otherwise, and that King William and his Ministers should trouble themselves to find out the Trick, they did not question but the Party in England had Impudence enough to perswade the Government, and scure them.

Stand clear, here comes the Address.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

THE

Humble Address of divers of the Gentry, Merchants and others,
Your Majesties most Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, Inhabiting in *Boston*,
Charlestown, and Places adjacent, within Your Majesties Territory and
Dominion of *New-England*, in *America*.

In Most Humble Manner Sheweth,



*HAT many of us in our late Humble Address, prof-
trated our selves at Your Royal Feet, and should
with all Silence and Humility have waited Your
Royal Will and Pleasure, did not Your Majesty's
Interest and our peace and safety at this day, more urgently
enforce us to spread before Your Sacred Majesty, the deplorable
Estate*

Estate and Condition of this Your Territory and Dominion. The late Revolution dividing the said Territory into ten Parts or Colonies, viz. Pemaquid, Province of Main, New-Hampshire, Massachusets, Plymouth, Rhoad-Island, King's Province, Connecticut, New-York, and East and West Jerfyes, thereby much debilitating each other, and giving great advantages to our Enemies, the French and Indians; and many hundreds of Your Majesties Subjects Murthered and Captivated: Pemaquid, all the Province of Main, save three Towns, and Senecdeka in the Colony of New-York, the Frontier Town of Canada and Inlet to New-England, being since destroyed: Some Depredations made upon New-Hampshire and the Massachusets, and all other the out-Towns in imminent danger, and Your Majesties poor Subjects there in great Distresses and Fears, being expos'd to the Rapine and Cruelty of the Enemy, whenever attackt by them.

That an Expedition was made by some of Your Majesties Subjects in the Massachusets Colony against the French at Port-Royal, who surrender'd themselves upon Articles; but no care taken to preserve the same for Your Majesties service, little Annoyance given to the Enemy by that, or any other Enterprize hitherto engaged in.

*That an Agreement was made by those who pretend to Govern Your Majesties said Colonies, to make an Attack upon the French at Canada; To which end New-York and Connecticut Colonies were to raise and send by Land, of the English and Five Nations of the Indians 2000 Men: And Your Majesties Colonies of the Massachusets and Plymouth, were to Equip a Navy by Sea of 32 Sail, and 2200 Souldiers and Marriners, which (without Your Royal Commission or Order) was accordingly done. But the Land Forces fail'd of their performance; and the Navy sent to Quebeck being defeated, the whole Design was frustrated, to the almost Ruine and Destruction of Your Majesties Subjects here, being set
forth*

forth at a vast Expence, which besides the former heavy Taxes, will leave, even the Massachusetts Colony (as we Conjecture) in further Arrears of at least 50 000l. Many of Your poor Subjects also being destroyed by the Enemy, and Dead by Distempers and Discases happening among them in the said Expedition.

That by Reason of the want of Government settl'd by Your Majesty, the Divisions and Strifes at New-York, thro' the Arbitrary Impositions and Exorbitant proceedings of the pretended Government there, are risen to such a Height that Your Subjects in that Colony have lately taken up Arms one against another, and some Blood is already spilt; which will further weaken your Majesties poor Subjects, and greatly encourage the Enemy, whose Return upon us by Land, and Men of War from France by Sea in the Spring, we have great Reason to fear: Whom to resist, thro' want of Your Majesties Government, as also of Arms and Ammunition to defend our selves, we shall be utterly incapacitated for.

DREAD SOVERAIGN,

We Your Poor, Loyal, Distressed Subjects, therefore humbly supplicate Your Royal Favour to be extended towards us, in Commiserating our Lamentable Estate, and that You will be graciously pleas'd to take us into Your immediate Care and Protection, and send us such speedy Relief and Assistance as in Your Princely Wisdom shall seem most meet, to save us and ours, together with Your Majesties Interest in these Parts from Total Ruine:

And your most obedient and Loyal Subjects, as in all Duty bound, will ever pray for your Majesties long and prosperous Reign.

Them.

Them. Graffort.
 P. Bowden.
 Dav. Waterhouse.
 Laur. Hammond.
 Nath. Dows.
 Nath. Rand.
 John Cutler, *Junior*.
 Tim. Cutler.
 Richard Sprague.
 Fr. Littlefield.
 John Hammond.
 John Nelson.
 David Jefferies.
 Benj. Mountfort.
 Samuel Phillips.
 Henry Mountfort.
 Thom. Edwards.

Edward Gouge.
 Fra. Foxcraft.
 James Lloyd.
 Tho. Newton.
 Dan. Allen.
 Sam. Walker.
 Nich. Manning.
 Giles Dyer.
 Geo. Rafin.
 Jo. Herb. Coward.
 Natt. Shannon.
 Nicho. Tippet.
 John Soames.
 Thomas Greaves.
 Nico. Paige.
 Edward Shippen.
 Edward Palmes.

Cum multis aliis.



HERE in this goodly Address to some King or other; But it's always impossible that it should be to our King *William* and Queen *Mary*; because, altho' it's true the Regal Power is in the King: yet certainly we all ought to know that the Name and Stile of our present Government is in King *William* and Queen *Mary*: and altho' it be allowed in some cafes to make application to the King or Queen separately; yet in a thing of this nature, where the Royal Authority, Stile, and Title, must be used, if any thing be done about it; all Application must be made to the Government, that is to say, to the King and Queens Majesties; and no Representation of this kind can be sense without it. And therefore we must in reason conclude, that the Party never intended this their Address originally for King *William* and Queen *Mary*: And it would be a little too hard to think they intended it for the *French* King *Lewis*, since as yet he understands

understands little or no *English* ; tho' some of our Publicans do not despair of learning him the Language, with something else in time.

But if we consider all concurring Circumstances, we may easily find that this Address was chiefly and only intended for King *James*, tho' they have made it to serve another purpose for a need : For these Addressers are of the very Tools of Tyranny, who have been Aiding and Assisting in overturning all our Government, Laws and Religion, in the late Reigns ; and those are not only the Persons, but here are the very things which they have always been promoting under the late Tyrannies ; and now they come with the remainder of their ungodly Projects. And dare any one believe that it's our King *William* and Queen *Mary*, *Princes ordained not to take away Priviledges but to give them, to break the Bands of the mighty, and let the Oppressed go free ?*

So that if we consider the Persons, Stile, Matter, and Circumstance, we must needs allow that this Address was originally intended for the late King *James*, by a Party of men who have not the capacity, *and yet are not ashamed to do, or at least attempt to do any thing.*

But if it be true that this Address, has been presented at Court, nay, and the Parties indifferent well received for some little time, tho' now it seems they are dismist, it may cause some People to wonder that the Trick has not been there found out, and Reprehended. But for my part, I think it not strange at all, that our Ministers of State at this time should have other work, than to make their Remarks upon every idle Pamphlet, or little *American* Representation ; and it's not only so, but to say the truth, who could ever imagine that a few Bankrupt *Publicans* and Vagabonds in *New-England* should send us over an Address of this nature, so fly, Doubtfully, Ambiguously, and cunningly penn'd, *as if it had been done in Vindication of the Dissenting Bishops, or by the*

the heads of the Party at the Devil, over a Bottel of good French Claret.

Now since we have seen the Address, and some part of its design, it is but reasonable that we also consider the Authors and their pretended Grievance; and if so, we shall find the Authors of the most depraved, and their pretences the worst grounded that ever were: these Addressers are of the Remainders and very Dregs of the two last Reigns. Persons brought up and educated in all manner of Debauchery and Depravation; a sort of People who may of right, and will stile themselves Gentlemen: *for they cannot work, and will not beg*, and therefore are fain to turn Sharpers, and practise little Tricks and Inventions for Bread: *To set their Neighbours House on fire, for an opportunity to steal his Goods. To trouble the Waters to make good Fishing. To pull down Houses to make themselves out of the Ruines:* Yet all these, and infinite other Inventions can seldom or never make them Rich: for the holes of their Bags are commonly wider than their mouths; their extravagancy not only ruins them, but makes them wholly incapable to get their Living: and the rapacious natures of these Cormorants are insatiable, so that a few *Publicans* are capable to ruine a great People, and yet not make themselves; *for they have the right Talent to make a great City little, but never to make a little one great.*

And if any of their Party are become Rich by the ruine of the Publick (for it can hardly happen otherways) it is where the vice of Covetousness has by some accident or other got the prevalency over the rest; and such people keep true to the Profession and Party; sometimes for fear if Honesty come to be uppermost, they may be called to an Account for their Administrations; or sometimes, because of the Enmity contracted between them and the rest of Mankind while they continued their Trade: or if it is that they grow fullen and tichy by some pricks of Conscience or
other,

other, and so become like the Devils, who finding themselves uneasy, they would have it so with every body else. Thus the interest as well as inclination of this Faction, is, and always has been, clear contrary to that of all persons of Honesty, Credit, and Interest; and it were well if the honest part of Mankind were as dextrous in preventing the designs of these men, as they are to invent and carry them on: *for these Drones are not only greedy as Hell to devour whatever they can get, but they are so inhumane and cruel as to destroy the very Bees that feed them.*

And if we consider the Quarrel with *New-England*, it will appear to be one of the most Rapacious, Inhumane, and Ungrateful, that was ever.

For these poor People who first settled *New-England*, being persecuted by our *Publicans* at home, made their most Humble Applications to the Kings, *James* and *Charles* the First successively. *Then whom never Princes were more Jealous of their Prerogatives*, and who no doubt thought it a Miserable Choice, for those poor Distressed People to fly to a Wilderness, where Cold, Hunger, Savages, and innumerable Evils and Dangers must needs attend them: But tho' such Persons as were unwilling, that this sort of People should either live on Earth or go to Heaven, oppos'd it; yet these Princes were content to let them go, and make the best of their waste howling Defart, for them and their Posterity, if they should have any.

Our *Publicans* were generally glad at this departure, and thought they were well rid of them; as not doubting but the Sea, the Savages, cold, or the Country would eat them up: And the *Publicans* were the rather glad, because they apprehended some sharp people among the *Puritans* of those days, who were likely to be some Let to their Designs: And there is no doubt but this dispersing the Spirit of the Nation made the *Publicans* grow secure, and embolden'd them to
drive

drive on so *Jehu* like, that they soon brought that poor Prince King *Charles* the first to engage himself in such Projects as proved his utter ruine.

But in the mean while the People of *New-England* shewed the world, that *Necessity and Freedome could do Wonders*: for in a few years, they grew to such a height and greatness, that they brought more Spirit, Virtue, Riches, Industry, Glory, and Honour, to the *English Nation*, than ever any Collony did: Until the *Publicans* so far prevail'd in the two last Reigns, as to perswade our late Kings, *Charles* and *James*, among other illegal courses, by Fraud and Violence to seize the Liberties and Priviledges of *New England*; but our flattering *Publicans* shewed themselves in this, as in all other their Methods with Kings; *that is to say, both Deceitful, Dangerous and Destructive*. For they perswaded the late King *James* to do this, not only against all Justice and Right, but also quite contrary to his Interest and Profit; for what he could not do by fair means, he did by force, sending over a chargeable Governour, with a sort of an Army, who not only Ruin'd the Countrey, but spent the King's Money into the bargain: and this was all brought about, only to bring a few poor Distressed *Publicans* into Employment: *Thus the King lost by it, and the Country lost by it, and none gained, but the Publicans.*

It is deplorable to see the Effects of the Project of these idle Deceivers: For how many Princes have they not Destroy'd, and so far are they gone in it, that they almost pretend to the Trade of *Ruining Kings by Prescription*; It is these men who advise Kings and Princes to all sorts of dangerous Enterprizes, only to cut out work and subsistence for their Extravagances; they have made most of the Princes that ever sat upon the *English Throne* Unhappy; to them and to them only may be attributed all the Misery and Unhappinefs, Blood and Ruine, of the Four last Reigns; and

and we have seen with our Eyes what they have done with the two late Kings. And indeed it's almost impossible for Princes and Great Men to shun them, for those Devils appear most commonly like Angels of Light, they put a gloss upon every thing, and cast Mists before the Prince's Eyes; honest and plain hearted Persons, neither can nor will appear, but what they really are, they appear only Naturally; but the *Publicans* come always with their *hocus pocus* Tricks, and appear Artificially. And altho' Natural things be most simple and real, yet Artificial things are commonly most pleasing; *and thus our Publicans have always had, and will have, a great advantage of other men, by their profound Abilities in the Arts of Flattering, Lying, and Cheating*; altho' the rest of Mankind exceed them in every thing else.

But the great cry of our *Publicans*, and by which they would scare us out of our Wits, is, *a Commonwealth, a Commonwealth*; nay, we dare not Speak, Act, Write, Work, nor sit still, for fear of *a Commonwealth*: One would wonder what should occasion all this Fear, Distraction and Disorder in our *Publicans* about *a Commonwealth*; but to do them Right, they have more cause to be at their Wits end, when they Think, Hear or Speak of *a Commonwealth*, than every one thinks; for those *State Chymists* have been hard at work, *ever since the days of that Mighty Hunter Nimrod*, to invent a perfect perpetual Tyranny; and commonly when they have e'en just done it, *to about the same degree that Agrippa was a Christian*; one unhappy accident or other comes over it; and necessitates *one extremity to produce another*, and so all blows up into *a Commonwealth*. This has happen'd to them not once nor thrice, but so many thousand times, that they are now grown Hair-Brain'd, and quite beside themselves; and their many and surprizing frights, have brought them into a continual fancy, that every House, Town, Island, Country,

Country, Colloney, Plantation, Ship, or any thing they hear, see, or speak of, *will presently turn a Commonwealth*: And to say the truth on't, it's no wonder that they are in this pickle about it, for they have been longer at work upon it, and met with far more disappointments, *than all the Projectors of the Philosophers Stone and Malable Glafs, have ever done.*

But to come to the purpose, I would fain know of our *Publicans*, how many Cities and Countries, have ever Revolted and turned *Commonwealths*, for being too well used? For my part I cannot tell that I ever Read or Heard of any: but I can think of abundance who have fall'n away and revolted by reason of oppression and hard usage; surely our Publicans must needs look upon that to be of the highest of Crimes, which the old *Romans* reckon'd among the greatest Virtues, in that Famous Judgment of theirs, in the case of the *Privernates*, who having committed high Offences against the *Majesty of Rome*, in defending their Liberties to great Extremities, and being brought before the Senate, to be condemn'd to suffer the severest Punishments for their Crimes, *and before they were called into the Senate, a Senator happen'd to ask one of the principal Malefactors, what security the Romans could have, if they should give them their Lives upon Conditions, and whether they would observe their Articles well?* The poor Prisoner answer'd freely; *if it be upon good terms, it will be firm and perpetual; but if upon ill, it will hardly last long.* The *Romans* were not yet grown so Addle-Headed, as upon this Noble and Resolute Answer, to bawl out *Republicks* and *Commonwealths*, and I know not what else; but on the contrary they said, *That the Prisoner had spoken like a Man, and like a Freeman, and that it was not to be supposed, that any People or private Person would submit to a condition that oppress him, longer than by Necessity he was constrained; and that if any Peace be lasting and*
Inviolable

Inviolable, it is where the Parties do voluntarily submit, and not where Servitude and Slavery is Imposed; and for this the Senate presently Decreed them Free-men of Rome, and Declared, that they only deserved to be Romans, whose Liberty was the greatest part of their care. This is the Truth, but our Publicans nor their Father the Devil, neither can nor will endure it: But to what purpose shall we Instance History to this sort of Men, for they neither Read, nor Think, nor Act as if they did?

But to say the truth, the *Publicans* are the only Makers of *Republicks*, but it's also true that they do it always by contraries. *The Publicans make Common-wealths, as Malefactors make Laws; for were there no Malefactors, there would be no need of Laws: and were there no Publicans, there need be no Republicks; and it may be truly asserted, That there never was any Rebellion or Revolt of People upon earth, but what has been caused directly or indirectly by the Publicans. Did not the ten Tribes revolt by better usage, and but one Sermon of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance Preached to them by King Rehoboam? It seems the Priests were not grown quite so Mercenary in those days, as they have been in ours, otherwise Rehoboam might have spared himself the labour, and got others to do it. It also appears that the English in our days have not been altogether so stubborn as the old Israelites were, who revolted at one single discourse of this sort of stuff: But the English have had both the patience to hear it and feel it by the space of seven or eight and twenty years.*

It's strange to consider whither the passions and lusts of these men are able to carry them: for had King Rehoboam kept his Tantivy Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance to himself, and preached it to his Wives and Concubines, and given his Subjects a few good words, and some little ease from their Grievances, the poor People had been his

his Servants for ever ; but the Publicans would not only have their ends, but they would also have their humour ; and so they lost both.

But the short and long of the business was, that the *Publicans* in those days were just such another Crew of *unthinking people as they are now* : And having debauched the young *King* to their humours, they began to think themselves as much interested and concerned in the Government as he ; and having got a Copy of the late *King David's Charter*, they resolved to use it to a purpose for which it was never intended, viz. To establish the *Publican Principles* and Interest ; and besides all this, *being Gentlemen, they could not bear to be affronted by the unmannerly Mob*. Therefore, between passion and invention, they set the poor young Prince up to Preach a Doctrine which soon brought both him and them down.

And moreover doubtless they had in their eye, that the people were grown rich by the prosperous Reign of *David*, and the peaceable one of *Solomon*, and had found out some new invention or other for fleecing them ; and having little or nothing to lose, and it being their Trade to Hazard Kings, they made no difficulty to run the risk : Thus they bubbled King Rehoboam into such excesses, as soon convinced him of his Errour, but when it was too late.

And we have not only this instance, but there never was any Rebellion or falling away of any People, but it was always begun by the *Publicans* of the times. It's true it was commonly ended by other people : And good reason, *Self Defence is a Principle in Nature*.

And durst our *Publicans* venture for once to give themselves a little liberty to think, they should easily find, that all the Revolts which ever happened in *Israel* and *Juda*, were because of having too few Priviledges, but never for having too many ; And not only so, but how many thousand instances

of

of this kind could be given, from what has happened among other Peoples? But to leave them all, let us only observe instances of such as subsist now a days. Did not *Genoua* Revolt from the *French* by bad usage? *Luca* from *Florence*? *Switzerland* from the House of *Austria*? and *Holland* from *Spain*? Were not all these Revolts occasioned by the highest oppression, and even despair? When the *Publicans* thought themselves cock-sure, and utterly impossible for the People to think of a Rebellion, much less to Speak or Act: *But it seems that God is still greater than the Publicans*, and will continue his old work of *Ruling in the Kingdoms of Men*, and giving them to whomsoever he will; and sometimes setting up over them the basest of Men.

But what need us so many Instances abroad, since we have them so plentifully at home, and what is most fresh in our Memory? Did not we Revolt from King *James* for hard usage? And I dare say, that the only and possible way to make *New-England* a *Commonwealth* at this time, according to the Caprice of our *Publicans*, would be to take away their old Privileges, and send them some Alva or other of a general Governour.

There are no People on Earth of narrower Souls and meaner Capacities than our *Publicans*, for they have been at work one where or other for some thousands of Years to establish their Maxims, and have always proved abortive: yet will they never be convinced of their weakness: But did they either read, or think, or converse with any freedom, they might easily know that there are but two ways for us to secure our selves of men, that is, either to oblige them or ruine them; and the first of these is commended by all the *Laws of Charity and Reason*: But the last is contrary to all *Justice and Humanity*. The first of these ways our *Publicans* will not take, because if they do Justice, *they shall lose their Trade, and all their goodly Projects*; and should they take the

the last, *there would be no body left to be their Slaves*: so they take always *the middle way*, the most pernicious in State Affairs, not to murder all the people, but only a part, and make the rest Bondmen. And thus there is almost continual War between *Publicans*, and the rest of Mankind, in which the People are always too strong for the *Publicans* at Blows, but the *Publicans* too hard for them at Lying, Diffembling, Flattering, and Cheating.

But certainly one would think that after the Example of the late King *James*, our *Publicans* should think of forsaking their *Craft*; for who had ever a greater opportunity than he to accomplish their ends: *He succeeded a Brother who had lived long enough to Debauch and Debase the Nation to a wonder*: He had an Army at his Heels of Thirty or Forty Thousand men, and could have what more he pleased: *Nay, he could, if need were, Muster a whole Army of Priests*, Armed and appointed on all sides with their Books and Sermons of *Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance*: yea, and they had so far prevailed, that the People seem'd in a manner wholly to believe them; and most men thought really did it, *until the good Prince of Orange was pleased to show us that the Parsons never meant it themselves*: And after this, to see his Army, and almost all his Creatures forsake him, as it were in one day, *and the Parsons obliged to change their note*, is enough to convince, *that the hearts of a People are the best, and indeed the only true security to a Prince*.

But the worst is, that our Friends the *Publicans* commonly understand no employment but their own; and should we happen to convince them, *we must give them Estates as well as Reason*; or otherwise they cannot subsist. And certainly they are often provok'd to plodding by necessity, as being fit for nothing else; and to confirm this, we see *there is hardly a Malefactor that suffers now a days, but he makes profession of his Faith as a Publican at the place of Execution*.

And

And certainly, if we look into almost all our Affairs of late, we shall find that the *Publicans*, by their projects and plodding, have not only ruin'd our Kings, *but almost the Nation*: and that not only by their outward and more open Violences; *but also by more subtile influences and designs*; and that in a more particular manner in Relation to Trade, *the only thing capable to make England great*. And certainly had not the Spirit of the Nation been come to such a height in our late Intestine War; *that it must vent itself some way or other*; and being brought to a stand by the Restoration of King *Charles the Second*; and there being no opportunity in War, *it forced itself through all opposition, and broke forth into Trade*; and all this notwithstanding the opposition of the *Publicans* against it, *who laid several Stumbling Blocks and restraints in the way, as it were on purpose to prevent its Progress*; and had not another concurring Circumstance helpt us out, those Times, and the Inventions of the *Publicans*, *had not only ruin'd Trade, but the Nation therewith*: And this was, that almost all our Neighbours were jealous of one another for the whole time; and not only so, *but under some other disadvantages which would not suffer them to do any thing great*.

And tho' it's our happiness that those Circumstances of our Neighbours saved us from ruine, yet we may now bewail it when it is something too late, *that never any People had a greater opportunity than we have partly lost to make our Nation great*. And tho' it's true, that we have done some considerable things in the late Reigns, *yet they are nothing to what the time and opportunity called us to do*: And how far we have lost our opportunity, any but *Publicans* may easily see: And among others our misfortunes, we have seen our *East-India Company* lose it self between *Prerogative and Priviledge*, or rather, between *Prerogative and Law*: for by the uncertainty of the Company's Priviledges, we see the Dutch

Dutch have got the Footing, *and we in a manner lost East India*: All these and a thousand other Extravagancies have our Publicans done and committed *for fear of a Commonwealth*: and should our Trade, *by which, and by which only we can maintain and increase our Greatness*, be under no better direction for the future, *a little time is like to make England a Province to some of its Neighbour Countries*.

But to speak freely, and surely, it concerns us both to think and speak of this Matter *Plainly and without Reserve*, and especially at this time, when our opportunity is very near; tho' I am fully satisfy'd *not quite lost*: but there is still so much remaining, tho' no thanks to us; *as may not only Preserve us*, but if we double our Diligence, *we may soon Recover what ever we have lost*.

One of our great Unhappineffes is, that most of the Persons in our Government understand little or nothing of Trade, *and so they leave it always at uncertainties*; or if they do any thing for its Interest, *it's commonly by chance*, and not from Knowledge or Experience of the thing; and the most they have done for Trade, has been upon the Projects of Persons *who have never been abroad, nor seen any thing; and who only hatch their Inventions out of the warmth of their Brains, without any other helps*; and such Projects, instead of helping us, have commonly made it abundantly worse; of this sort of Projects, are the greatest part of the *Art of Navigation*, and our Inventions about the *Improvement of Wooll*, which instead of being advantageous to us, have been the greatest Lets and hindrances, that ever *the Trade and Ingenuity of England saw*; and if they are not soon remedied, the Consequence is likely to be such, as no True *Englishman* would willingly live to see.

And surely one would think that few or none should be ignorant at this day, *That since Trade hath flourished, she has made as many and considerable changes in the world, as ever*

ever Empire did: How often has not she made a poor People Rich, a little People Great, and an Ignorant People Wise? And methinks the English Nation should at least Incourage Trade to purpose, or let it wholly fall; and do as some of our Country Gentlemen seem to advise, if not by their Words, at least by their Actions: That is, to Prohibit all Converse with Strangers, lay aside our Shipping, eat our own Bread, drink our own Beer, wear our own Wooll, and so turn Savages, and then we shall keep our Money among our selves, make Wooll dear, and consequently make Lands yield a good price. A Project fit for none but Savages to propose.

And if we will begin to Incourage Trade, our way is not to take away Priviledges, but to give them; for we see the Dutch and all other People, who ever did or pretend to do great things by Trade, have always proposed and done it, upon the Foundation of vast Priviledges and Immunities; for it's a Maxim which always holds, that Trade and Tyranny will never agree; and we have an Eminent Example of the effect of this, in the Dutch East India Company who have Priviledges so immense, as I dare say, the People of New-England will never think of, if our Publicans do not provoke them to it: Their Priviledges have Inabled them to Shake Kingdoms Remove Kings, and give Laws to the Eastern World: This is that Company, which is a Subject in Holland, and one of the greatest Sovereigns upon Earth in India; and had not the Dutch made one false step about forty years ago, in ceding Brazile to the Portuguese; and that their West-India Company had been Armed with the same Immunities, as their East, they had shewed the World ere this, that they could Conquer without War, and overcome without Fighting; for they had in all Humane Appearance, been at this time Dominators of the Seas, and Lords of the Indies. But however it is, they have done much with nothing, and we have only done little with much.

And

And certainly, tho' the Priviledges of *New-England* have been very inconsiderable, in respect to what other People, who will promote Trade and Plantation, have commonly given; yet they have behav'd themselves so, *as to deserve* them enlarged, *instead of being diminished*: and this we shall see, if we do but consider the Manners and Dispositions of that People, and their difference from those of the other Collonies, before our *Publicans* began their Projects among them: *New-England* had a Sweet, Easie, and Gentle Government, *Made and Constituted by, as well as for the good of the People*; a Government, that knew no Interest inconsistent with that of their Country and Charge; *and it may be, all things considered, coming nearer to the Blessed Theocracy at first settled by God himself, than ever was any on Earth*; and the Effects of it soon *turned a Barren Wilderness into a Fruitful Field*: Infomuch, that we have seen these Collonies, *the Envy of the Tyranny, and the Glory of England*.

It was the Glorious Effects of this Government which has rendered that People *Civilly good, far above all the other English Collonies that ever were*; for there could be nothing seen but Religion, Industry, and Sobriety; their Women employed in one ingenuous thing or other, and far from the common temptations to Pride, Pomp, and Lust; their young Men industrious, every one improving himself in his way, and preserved from Idleness and Debauchery; their Old Men sitting honourably at the Gates, *thinking well, and speaking right*.

Where their Young were loved, and the Old honoured, *and where few or no Complainings for want were heard in the Streets: few or no Suits of Law*; but if there were any, they were commonly ended in a few hours or days, or at most in a few weeks, at only a few Shillings or Pence expence: No publick Debauchery, Disorders, Extravagancy, or Sabbath-breaking there to be seen. The admirable Effects

of

of all which, has been to settle and People a Countrey in a few years, *which one would think had cost five times the space.* Men of Estates, instead of going from thence, went from all places thither, *to a People flourishing in their simplicity, honesty, and integrity,* and to whom others were rather indebted, than they in debt to any.

We must needs confess, when *Messieurs* the *Publicans* began to set up their inventions in New-England, they soon turned all things into reverse; and what can we expect from any Country or People, but that their Government should have an outward influence upon them, in making them civilly good or bad, according *as that is Constituted and Ordained*; for all real Change comes immediately from God to the heart, but artificial ones arise most commonly from the outward circumstances of men; *and the multitude are as they are made.*

But if we look into most of the other English Plantations, we shall find all quite contrary; Inhabited by a People who commonly cannot, or may not have any Principles of Honour, Honesty, Industry, or Vertue, *miserable Subjects of Oppression and Slavery, Deceit, and Violence*; who, instead of turning a barren Wilderness into a fruitful Field, have commonly *turned a fruitful Field into a barren Wilderness.* A poor naked hungry Governour comes usually from the Court every three years, with a troop of miserable debauched Followers, *and for the most part guilty of one Crime or other,* whose Debaucheries, Ignorance and Necessities, *provoke them to innumerable Practices of Fraud and Violence.* They do that in some of the English Colonies, which it may be was never done by any Civil People upon Earth, *for they Buy and Sell one another for Debt.* No Rich Man is safe, unless he be Partners with the Governour, *nor hardly then neither*; where the People are so corrupted and depraved *by the Debauchery and Malignity of the Government,* that there
is

is hardly any thing can be heard of, but *Quarrels, Contentions, and Suits of Law*; and yet there can hardly any Procefs happen, but *Plaintiff and Defendant must both be losers*. Instead of increasing, they decrease daily both in Riches and People: *For in the Year 1681 there was in one of the most considerable English Plantations above 7000 fighting Men, and five Years after, there were found but about 4700. And let any thinking Person but judge of what becomes of the rest; besides the fresh People that come yearly.* And most other Plantations are much the same.

And as it were to crown all their other Barbarities, they have made their *Plantations Prisons as well as Dens of Slavery*; for none can go out of any of them without permission from the Governour for the time and place; and by this, they deprive Mankind at once of the only valuable thing in the World, *precious Liberty*: For if the very thoughts of Confinement are the most grievous, *how abundantly more is the thing it self?*

These, and such as these are the Causes that Foreigners can hardly find an honest man to Correspond with; and that as soon as persons begin to get any thing of an Estate, they are fain to forsake those places, *which for the most part are more in Debt than they are worth; miserable Prisons, and Dens of Slavery, full of Violence and Wrong*, where there is hardly any Principles of Honour or Honesty to be found, *and where even their Mercy, Justice, and Right, are intollerable Grievances.*

These things and these only, are *the source and Original Cause of Pyrates, and Bukaneers*; for Servants become desperate, and run away from their Masters; and Debtors, for fear of Slavery, run away from their Creditors, *and become Pyrates and Robbers.* Thus the Tyrannies and Evil Government of the Plantations *is the Original Cause of all the Rapines, Ruine and Blood committed and shed in the Indies.*

And

And if the influence of their present Constitution continues long upon them, we may reasonably expect *that our Plantations shall soon become as miserable as those of Spain; or otherwise break out into Pyracies, and become a greater plague to England, than ever were the Turks upon the Coast of Barbary.*

And had the *Bukaneers* been indued with Conduct suitable to their Courage, *they had shew'd us e'er this another sort of Government, both for Riches and Greatness, than any at present in Europe;* and what has been so long possible, may at one time or other be done, if there be not suitable and timely means used to prevent it.

Thus whilst our *Publicans* are *with their apprehensions of a Republick in New-England*, they are hard at work in their old *Antipathetical way*, setting up *one of the most dangerous and depraved Mobs and Nest of Pyrates that ever was;* And they have brought it so far already, that if better hands do not undertake the work, *it is not in their capacities to prevent it.* But it may be they do this with some design or other; for to say the truth, the *Bukaneers* are almost as depraved as the *Publicans themselves.*

By these, and many other Examples, we may see, that it's not so much the Air which people live in that corrupts their manners, *as some shallow-brain'd Politicians will have it,* but it's the Evil Government, Evil Communication, and bad Examples, by which men corrupt one another; as it is written, *the wicked walk on every side, when the vilest of men are exalted.* And Solomon says, *that by the blessing of the Upright the City is Exalted, but it is overthrown by the mouth of the wicked.* And God complaining of the Government of *Judah*, by the mouth of his Prophet *Isaiah*; he says, *How is the faithful City become an Harlot? it was full of Judgments, Righteousness lodged in it; but now Murderers.* And giving the reason thereof, he says, *thy Princes are Rebellious,*
and

and Companions of Thieves, every one loveth Gifts, and followeth after Rewards ! They judge not the Fatherless, neither doth the Cause of the Widdow come unto them. And speaking of the Remedy of these things, he says, I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away thy Tinn, and I will restore thy Judges as at the first, and thy Counsellors as at the Beginning : Afterwards thou shalt be called the City of Righteousness, the Faithful City. Here we see that God himself, in whose hands all things are, speaks as if there were no other way for a People to become civilly good, but by the influence of a good and righteous Government ; and surely we may take it for a Rule, *that the good or pernition of Politick, as well as other Bodies, proceeds from their Constitution, and the influence which that hath upon them.* And it's no wonder that this should be a Rule on Earth, since it is no less than the Basis of Heaven ; for if *Justice and Judgment are the habitations of Jehovah's Throne and Dominion,* it must needs be the consequence, that such Constitutions among Men as are most consonant to this Rule of Righteousness, shall always be most durable and happy ; *and it's from this foundation that there never was any outward promise made in the Law, but with the condition of outward Obedience.*

And we may freely venture to tell our *Publicans, that if ever they make their Tyrannies, Treacheries, and little Tricks, everlasting, they must do it out of God's Dominion ;* and I doubt not but we should soon be rid of them, if they did but know of such a place, and could any way come at it ; especially if the People of the Country were any thing Rich.

But now I think on't, our Publicans are of late wonderfully puffed up with the Success of their little Idol, the *French King ;* and they seem confident, that the Art of making Tyranny everlasting, *is newly found out by the French Engineers ;* but I doubt not but some of the Crew shall yet live

to

to see *this their last Chimera also broken to picces*, and the *French* projects, whatever they may do for a little time, prove as empty as those of the *House of Austria*, who, by their platform of an absolute Monarchy, *have drawn almost the whole Body into the Head, and we have seen the Consequence, that the Body is thereby disabled and weakened, and the Head broke out into Distempers*: So that the *House of Austria*, altho' possesst of almost all its antient Dominions, yet instead of offending others, *it cannot now defend itself*. Thus the *Austrian Publicans* have almost ruined *Spain, Italy*, a great part of *Germany*, and the *Indies*, and yet not helpt themselves; but are at this day so miserable, that there wants but the opportunity of some little Usurper or Invader to run away with the whole *House of Austria*. And thus it has been with *Austria*, and shall be with *France*, and with all the Tyrannies that ever shall be invented; *for it's impossible that Nature should long endure so great an inequality*; as we see the Natural Body, that when it is disordered, and in Fits, it seems to be stronger than at another time; but that is soon over, and followed with great weakness; so if our Publicans will please to think, they shall not find the *French* Tyranny can last long; but yet it may be, *so long as to give our Publicans in England, if they have not a care, such an opportunity of discovering themselves, as almost nothing else could do*; and by that means Administer them such a sort of Correction as they have not hitherto been acquainted with: *I advise them to begin to think* Divine Vengeance has leaden Heels but Iron Hands.

But our Publicans of late seem to change Party, and cry out nothing but *Law and Reason*: And especially these of *New-England*, by Instructions no doubt from the Party here, have learned to cry *Law, Law*; and that *the present Government of New-England is not according to Law*; But we may be sure that their use of Law is only like the Devil's use of Scripture,

Scripture, *to pervert it, and do mischief therewith.* But it's amazing, how these Miscreants dare be so impudent at this time of day, as to call in question all those great and glorious things that have been done in our late and happy Revolution; and not only so, but to justify *all the Tyrannies and Barbarities of the late Reigns*; for in all their Clamour, they not only take it for granted, that *the People of New-England did lose their Liberties and Properties in the late Reigns*, but that all the late Tyrannies were Lawful; *thereby openly condemning the Prince of Orange's Declaration, and all the Resolutions of the Convention of State; and the practice, not only of New-England but almost of all the Corporations in England: For the then Prince of Orange, called an Assembly of the States of England to be Made, Chosen, and Constituted, according to the Antient Rights and Priviledges of every Place*; and the People every where, not withstanding the late Usurpations upon their Liberties, did all chuse according to Antient Right, *and all these Persons Sat and Voted in the late Blessed Revolution, in Matters of the highest consequence that can possibly ever happen in England*; for it was Dissolving an Old Government, and making a New one: *And not only so, but many Worthy Gentlemen who were Out-lawed in the late Reigns, for pretended Treason, made no bones on't, to go and sit, and were freely admitted in Parliament*; and did not stand still until their Judgments and Outlawries were Revers'd, *for that was only matter of Form, and not a matter of Right*; and this was the very Case of *New-England*, in common with so many of their fellow Subjects of *England*; and thus there can be no true friend to the present Government will doubt, but *New-England is now upon the same Foundation on which it stood before their freedoms were Ravished from them, excepting only the Reversal of the Judgment against their Charter, which as the matter stands, is but matter of form.*

And

And were it not for losing an opportunity of having their Priviledges and Immunities augmented by their Majesties Bounty and Grace, *so eminent in them, above any of their Royal Progenitors*; surely it would be best for the People of *New-England*, to sit still where they are, and only Reverse the Judgment against their Charter, *which no doubt they may do of Course*, and then let our *Publicans* see if they could persuade King *William* and Queen *Mary* to begin where King *James* left off, and so to bring another Quo-warranto against the Priviledges of *New-England*.

I had thought to bring many Examples and Precedents from our Laws and Customs, to confirm what I have asserted; but I think there is enough said, to prove that *New-England* stands upon the same Foundation with our present Government; and besides, what should we do with Law and Precedents for our *Publicans*, the Men must first have Reason, before they will be fit to hear Law; and our Law Cases will possibly serve upon another occasion, if we should need them. Besides, they could be of no great use at this time, since we know that the *Publicans* present noise of Law, is chiefly intended to wound our present Government through the sides of that of *New-England*.

But after all, let us come to the Quality of the Addressers where we shall find that the interest of the Faction is so low in *New-England*, that they have not been able, of all sorts and sizes, to make up the number of forty persons, after all their running, riding, working, persuasion, and industry; which further confirms, that those little Tools in *New-England* are only made subservient to another far more Considerable Faction some where else; which rightly considered, makes it wonderful; that notwithstanding the weakness of their interest, yet they should be able to keep *New-England* unsettled for more than two years of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*; and by that means, not only
prevent

prevent the total Conquest of *Canada*, but have brought great, and almost unspeakable disadvantages to the Interest of the present Government throughout *America*; for otherwise, we might in all humane appearance, have seen the *French* by this time, disposseff'd of all their Acquisitions in those parts of the World.

And certainly, should we begin to recollect all the most considerable Services of our *Publicans* to the *French* interest of late years, we shall find none more considerable than this; and surely our Addressers have deserved to partake with the *French* King in all his late Triumphs, and some of his Gold, more than any the like number that I can possibly think of: But, alas, these have been but the Factors and Agents of others; and their greatest Successes can only bring their heads to Promotion, but little or nothing can fall to the Tools thereby.

And there is no doubt but the great and principal reason of these Mens Successes in *New-England*, since their Majesties happy accession to the Crown, has been the remissness of the Government and People there, in doing Justice upon the late Betrayers and Invaders of their Country. *Two or three Eminent Examples of Justice, and the Building of a good Bridewell for the rest of the Lazy Crew*, had presently put them out of all these doubts, and made room enough for the Progress of their Majesties Arms in *America*.

Among the Addressers there is one *Laurence Hammond*, who hardly deserves the name of *Haman*, altho' it's pretty near it: He it seems has written a long Letter to some body or another in *England*, which the Party have been at the charge of Printing in the same Sheet with the Address. *Laurence Hammond* in this his Letter, has also imitated, doubtless so much as he was capable, the canting Stile of the *Publicans*, but has done it so meanly, that it's a better

Answer

Answer to it self than any I can give it, and therefore I leave him to write another to better purpose.¹⁰¹

It seems the Addressers have deputed the *Messieurs le Colonel Charles Ledge*, and the *Sieur Edward Randolph* to Drink, Damn, Swear, and Swagger against the People of *New-England* in *London*, and to Barrel up some more Hogs heads of Blank Patents for *Old Puritan Lands*, to be ready Salted, Pickled and well Condition'd, against the first opportunity of Transport to *New-England*, for *Country Consumption*.

The *Sieur Ledge*¹⁰² is renowned for his late Prosecution of the *Prince of Orange's Declaration*, and for his Zeal in carrying on the new designs for disturbing our Peace, Drinking of Religious Healths, and other considerable *Feats*. And the *Sieur Randolph* has got a Name in the World by being one of the first *Publicans* dispatched from hence to *New-England*; and who has ever since had a considerable interest in all the projects of the Party there; and not only so, but the Man is of late grown very Eminent for his new Inventions in the Arts of Forging Letters and false News: And if his Improvement in those Arts be so considerable as they say, surely he could make vast advantage of it among the *Actionists* in *Amsterdam*: But now I think on't, Holland is

a

¹⁰¹ This Address printed *ante*, p. 239, was the second Address of the Episcopals, the first being the one which we have printed on pp. 28-32. FROTHINGHAM, (History of Charlestown, p. 233,) says that this second Address was printed in London with a Letter dated Charlestown, Nov. 22, 1690, subscribed L. H. *i. e.* Lawrence Hammond. Yet he had not been able to see a copy of this edition, and the editor of this volume confesses to the same ignorance. Of Hammond, who figured largely in these troubles, a good account is given by Frothingham.

¹⁰² Charles Lidget is mentioned in our first volume of Andros Tracts. He was wealthy, and a strong partizan of the overthrown government. As to Randolph, we may here add to our note 85, *ante*, p. 204, that he may have been the author of the pamphlet "New England's Faction Discovered." In our first volume, p. 135, that tract is "supposed to be written by an Implacable Enemy of all good men, and a person that for Impudence and Lying has few Equals in the World." These terms seem to apply to Randolph rather than Dudley.

a Republick, and that sort of Air does not very well agree with his Complexion.¹⁰³

To give them both their due, they are a couple of indifferently well accomplished *Publicans*, and fit enough to serve the Interest, and more especially if they have but the Language, and if they have it not, it's hopt their Friends in New-England will please to spare them time to learn it: For the *Monfieurs* are grown of late so imperious that they will hardly speak any thing but *French*, altho' they understand it never so well. Thus it seems they would not only have us Slaves to their humours, *but even to their very Language.*

These, and such as these, are the Agents and Tools of the Party here, and I doubt not but a little time shall so discover them to the World in general, and to the present Government in particular; as to procure them a sort of Advancement, tho' not such a one as they are plodding for: But it must be by contraries, otherwise it would not suit with their condition.

But after all their great Successes in their late Undertakings against the Government, whether it be in preventing our Conquest of *Ireland* in the Year 89, their baffling our designs at Sea these two last Years, their imbroiling us in *Scotland*, in *New-England*, and over the rest of *America*: Yet our *Publicans* are extreamly troubled at something or other; and it seems that one of their Afflictions is, that tho' the English have not as yet dispossessed the *French* of whole *Canada*, yet they have made a good beginning, and such considerable discoveries, as being well followed, may soon bring the rest: This has put them into such a fright and disorder, that it's common with them now to cry out *Canada, Canada,*

¹⁰³ This allusion is of course to the forged letter purporting to be from Increase Mather to ——— Gouge, in Holland, in 1683, which was probably written by a friend of Randolph's. It is reprinted in *Mss. Historical Society's Collections*, 4th S., vol. viii, pp. 104-110, with an admirable note on the authorship.

Canada, as it has been always to cry out *Commonwealth*, *Commonwealth*; and to say truth they have reason for *Canada* is the fairest Flower of the *French* Crown beyond the Ocean, and capable, if gained, and well improved by the *English*, of making the Nation some Compensation for and towards the Charge of this expensive War, which our *Publicans* have been pleased to engage us in; besides the influence it hath to ruine the *French* Interest in whole *America*.

And the second vexation of our Addressors is about Sir *William Phips*, a Person of a clear contrary humour and principle to the *Publicans*, for it has always been Sir *William's* disposition to seek the Wealth of his People, with as great Zeal and unweariedness, as our *Publicans* used to seek their loss and ruine.

At first, it seems they were in hopes to gain this Gentleman to their Party, as thinking him good natur'd, and easie to be flattered out of his understanding; and the more, because they had the advantage of *some no very good Treatment that Sir William had formerly met with from the People and Government of New-England*. But Sir *William* soon shewed them that what they expected would be his temptation to lead him into their little tricks, he embraced as a glorious opportunity to shew his Generosity and greatness of mind; *for in imitation of the greatest Worthies that have ever been, he rather chose to joyn in the defence of his Country with some Persons, who formerly were none of his Friends, and it may be had never been for his Virtue, without his Success*, than become the head of a Faction, to its ruine and desolation.

It seems this noble disposition of Sir *William*, joyned with that Capacity and good Success wherewith he has been attended, in raising himself by such an occasion, as it may be, all things considered, has never happened to any before him, makes our *Publicans* apprehensive, and not without reason,

reason, *that these are but the beginnings and Forerunners of the Noble Atchievements which still remains for him to do, for the adorning of his Age, and the Glory as well as the Advantage of his Native Country.*

And as the *Publicans* are highly apprehensive of the indefatigable *Labours* of Sir *William Phips*, of which they have already seen some part of the Consequence, it must needs heighten their Trouble, to see that he neither hath, *nor doth spare himself, nor any thing that is near and dear to him*, in promoting the good of his Native Country; and consequently, the Interest as well as Advantage and Glory of our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queens Majesties: and it's the Hope and Expectation of all Good Men, who have the Honour of his Acquaintance, that God Almighty will Bless and Prosper these unwearied, and so much dreaded Endeavours of his, *with Prosperity and Glorious Success.*

But this Famous *Publican* Address, has not only been Signed by all the Trash they could Rake together, but also with a *Cum multis aliis.*

You can hardly think how I was at first puzzled with this *Cum Multis Aliis*, for I thought to take it in the Literal Sence could no way be suitable to the humours of our *Publicans*, for it was never their manner at such a time as this, to hide any of their numbers; but rather, to make themselves look bigger, and abundantly more numerous than ever they really are; as we may often see by some of them holding up two hands for one in *Guildhall*, and Poling two or three times instead of once, to be sure on't; therefore I thought it impossible that they should be guilty of concealing any of their Party upon such an occasion as this; and above all, I could not perswade my self, but this Latin Expression, must needs have some double meaning, according and conformable to the body of the Address and most other things our *Publicans* used to do or say.

Then

Then I began to consider it another way, and to suppose, that since they are apt to bring every thing into Slavery they meet with, *possibly the Caprice of some of the Party, at one time or other, might have by Force and Violence reduced these two or three poor simple Latin words into some proper name*; and it might be this proper name was at this time, that of their President, and that according to their usual Rules of contraries, this their President had Signed last, *because it is the manner of other Peoples Presidents to Sign first*: But after much Dispute with my self, I was fain to forsake all my Fancies about this Expression, as a Proper Name, and begun again to ponder upon its Natural Signification, to see what I could discover that way: Thus I came to suppose, they might possibly mean their Servants and Tenants, by these Latin words; but after Inquiry, I understood they had not many of them, *especially since their Hogsheads full of Blank Patents, are worn quite out of fashion*. Then I inquired if they had any Wives and Children among them? and after a sharp Scrutiny, I found that *New-England* was a pretty Prolific Country, and knowing the *Publicans* to be a Lazy Idle sort of People, who seldom or ever work with their good will, except it be a little now and then with the *surface of their Brains*; for deep thoughts they never have any. This made me take it for granted, that their leisure might give them great Opportunity to *Procreate*, and therefore possibly they might have good store of Wives, or at least Women and Children; so I concluded, that *Cum Multis Aliis* in this place, signified only their Wives and Children; but I had no sooner taken this for granted; than I began to wonder wherefore our *Publicans* were pleased to make so bold with their Women and Children, setting them down, not only as consenting, but in such an imperious manner, as if they had actually subscrib'd themselves; since it might reasonably be supposed, they had never so much as asked
one

one half of their Opinions about the matter: This led me to think of the *Publican Doctrine*, that is to say, of *Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance*; and that is to say, *Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience*: For there is neither more nor less on't, take it which way you will; and how by this Doctrine they pretend their Succession is derived, from the Eldest Son of the Eldest Son of *Noah* &c and that every Eldest Brother is the Sovereign of the others, *ad infinitum*, only there had been some few mistakes by the way; *in this manner they take it for granted, that every Father of a Family is Sovereign of it*; always saving the Allegiance they all owe to their upper Sovereign; thus it is by this Patriarchal kind of Right as they call it, that our Publicans make so bold with their Wives and Children, without ever asking their leave, and reckon they are not only obliged by, but included in all they do or say; but however it is, we need not doubt, but our *Publicans* believe, that their Wives and Children are fully included in all they say or do, since they have always pretended the Right, not only to Enslave the Age they live in, but even Generations to come; and not only to Enslave their own, but likewise those of all other People; and now beyond all Dispute, they would take the same Liberty which some of the Gang in Affrica do, in Selling and Pawning their Wives and Children, if they saw occasion: *And why should we doubt that those People who pretend a Divine Right to dispose of other Peoples Children, should not make bold with their own?*

But since this little *Latine Expression* is of so large a signification with the *Publicans*, and of so great use among them, to keep their poor Wives and Children in Thralldome: Why may it not also be made use of, as a sign between them and the late *King James*, to signify something or other, that it may be that we may not very well understand? But at least that any Address or other Writing, where *Cum Multis Aliis* follows,

follows, is always intended for him. Thus we may see the whole Doctrine of the *Publicans*, contracted and contained in this one little Myſterious *Latin Expreſſion*: but however it is, for my part, I muſt needs confeſs, I ſhall have the worſe thoughts of *Cum Multis Aliis*, ſo long as I live, for this Baſe and Slavish uſe made on't by the *Publicans*.

To conclude, I muſt needs confeſs, that the Party in *New-England* are ſo very low and Miſerable, *that they are not worth a Line of Chaſtiſement*: Beſides, a mean Capacity may ſee, that it's all but borrowed and Artificial Stuff, and nothing Natural in it: and had it not been for the Party here, I had never ſet Pen to Paper about the matter: but it's the Reſpect I owe to the Preſent Government, under their Majeſties *King William* and *Queen Mary*, and the Inclination I find in my ſelf, to improve my mean Talent in helping to promote the Trade, Advantage, Welfare and Greatneſs of *England*, has moved me to Imploy my Pen againſt this ſort of Men, not having any Private Deſign, Obligation, Diſobligation, or End, in doing what I have done; nor was I ever at, or concerned in *New-England*, nor with its People, excepting in common Converſation: I muſt confeſs, I have ſomething againſt the Tyrannies and Evil Government of the other Engliſh Plantations, and the bad management of the *Trade of England*, which has moved me to write to ſenſibly about them; but it's hop'd, a ſmall time may ſhew us ſome conſiderable Eaſe and Redreſs in theſe things; therefore this hint before hand may not be unneceſſary, and ſomething more if requir'd.

It muſt needs be afflicting to any juſt and generous *Engliſh Mind*, who underſtands our Affairs fundamentally, to ſee the Priviledges of *New-England*, not only brought into Diſpute at this time of day, but left in diſpence for more than two years, *which has been ſo fatal to ſome of our beſt Deſigns againſt the common Enemy of Man and Religion*. And the Deſign of thoſe who have been the Authors, ought
not

not only to be considered, but dreaded with the greatest horror; for these are the Men, who both directly and indirectly embroyl us at home, and abroad. These are the Men, who would have *King William* and *Queen Mary* Begin where the late *King James* left off; *They would have us send an Army, and a General Governour to New-England, that we might both lose the Country, and be embroyl'd therewith.*

All which consider'd, it's highly necessary at this time, for all true *Englishmen*, Lovers of their Country, and consequently of our Sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queens Majesties, to look upon this sort of Men as common Pests; a Crew who have hardly any thing, but *Equivocations Mental Reservations, Doubts, and Ambiguities*, in all they say or do, and who, as it's Reported of Witches, *can never do us harm, till first we believe in, or do them any good.*

F I N I S .



A BRIEF
ACCOUNT
CONCERNING
Several of the AGENTS
OF
New-England,
THEIR
NEGOTIATION at the COURT
OF
ENGLAND:
WITH

Some REMARKS on the NEW CHARTER
Granted to the Colony of *MASSACHUSETTS*.

SHEWING

That all things duely Considered, Greater Priviledges
than what are therein contained, could not at this
Time rationally be expected by the People there.

LONDON, Printed in the Year 1691.

PREFATORY NOTE.

¹⁰⁴ In the pages which follow, we have Increase Mather's account of his actions as Agent for the Colony, and by the course of public feeling here, this account was made as a vindication of himself. Notwithstanding the great service he had rendered in obtaining a new Charter, so disappointed and unreasonable were the colonists, that Mather was violently censured for not achieving impossibilities, by obtaining a renewal of the old Charter. In this pamphlet we find a clear and frank statement of the difficulties he encountered, and it is evident to the readers at the present time, that the very important successes obtained by the Agents were chiefly due to the ability of Mather. The wonder is not that he obtained so little, but that he secured such favorable terms for his constituents.

A great portion of this tract has been embodied by Cotton Mather in his "Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather." The additions are chiefly in the reports of the interviews between William and Mary and Mather. As the condensed report contains all the essential facts, it has not seemed necessary to transcribe the fuller notes, especially as it is probable that a reprint of the "Remarkables" will soon be made.

It will be noticed, that though it was not advisable to mention many names at the time, Cotton Mather afterwards revealed them. Prominent among those who aided Mather at William's court, were Lord Wharton, Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Burnet, Lady Sutherland, and Somers.

As an interesting evidence of Burnet's sympathy with the colonists, and his belief that they had been greatly oppressed, we transcribe the following from his Sermon preached before the House of Commons on the 31st of January, 1688-9. His text was, "That there be no breaking in, nor going out, nor complaining in our Streets."

"But the second sense of *breaking in* is never to be forgotten by you. I mean the breaking through a Man's Inclosure; or in a word, the violating these two sacred Things, *Liberty* and *Property*, and the constitution of this August Body which is the great Fence to both. When the only use that was made of Laws, was to find a colour to break them; when Justice was only pretended to support the highest Injustices; when no Man's Fence was strong enough to resist precarious Judges and suborned Juries; when adhering to Law and Religion was become a Crime, and when prerogative which is only a power to preserve the People on extraordinary occasions, was made the great Engine to destroy them: in a word, when no man was safe in his innocence, nor secure in his Property; and when the owning the concerns of the Nation in this great Body, was accounted a Crime to be expiated by the best Blood that was in it; when I say all these things were done, then was our Fence not only broken down, but,—as if it were not enough to pluck up Park-pales without knocking down the Owners with them,—so Laws, Justice and Trials were become the Words of Form, to be made use of for destroying us by Rule and Method, and were only the Solemnities and Ceremonies of our Ruin."

**New-Englands
Case.**

A BRIEF ACCOUNT

CONCERNING

Several of the AGENTS

OF

NEW-ENGLAND,

THEIR

NEGOTIATION at the COURT

OF *ENGLAND.*



May rationally suppose that an Account of my Negotiation in *England*, where I have been attending the great Affair of *New-England* for more than Three Years, will be expected from me.

When I began my Voyage from *Boston* for *London* (which was in *April*, 1688.) *New-England* was in a very deplorable Condition. He that was then Governour there, acted by an Illegal and Arbitrary Commission; and invaded Liberty and Property after such a manner, as no man could say any thing was his own. Wise men believed it to be a necessary Duty to use all Lawful means to obtain some Relief and Remedy against those growing Evils. This could not be done, without first acquainting him who was then in the Throne, with
the

the miserable State of his Subjects in that Territory. No man of common Prudence could be Insensible of the Hazard and Danger that would attend his Person and Family, in appearing at Court as a Complainant against a Governour that was King *James* his Creature. Nevertheless, being encouraged by many of the principal Gentlemen in *New-England*, I resolved to venture, tho' I perished in the Attempt, rather than to see my Countrey ruin'd.

In *June* following, I had the favour of waiting on the late King: I must acknowledge he was very kind and Obliging in his Expressions, giving me Liberty of Access in private to him whenever I desired it; seeming to wonder at the things I acquainted him with, and professing that no man in the World should be more ready to relieve the People Interceded for, than he would. Notwithstanding which, nothing was done for them all that Summer. And indeed, good words were as much as any one under my Character had reason to expect in King *James* his Court.

At the time of the happy Revolution in England (being introduced by the Right Honourable my Lord *Wharton*, of whose kindness all *New-England* has cause to be sensible, his Lordship having upon all Occasions concerned himself for them) I made my humble Addresses to his present Majesty (then *Prince of Orange*) in behalf of that Countrey. There was a Circular Letter drawn up to be sent to all the Plantations, and in particular to *New-England*, to confirm those Governours in their Places till further Order. Mr. *Jephson* (the then Princes Secretary) shewed me the Letter. I assured him that *New-England* would be undone, if that Letter should come to them: Within a few dayes he told me that he had acquainted His Highness with what I said to him: Who had thereupon Ordered him not to transmit
that

that Letter to *New-England*; But to all the other Plantations where there were Protestant Governours. This was certainly an happy turn for *New-England*. How would their Oppressors have insulted over them, had such a Letter come into their hands! I knew that whilest that People enjoyed their Old Charter they prospered wonderfully: But that since they were deprived of the Priviledges therein contained, their ruins were multiplyed; and that the Inhabitants were generally desirous of being resettled as in the days of Old: for which cause I resolved to do what was in me that it might be so.

Whenever I had the Honour of speaking to the King, whether at *White-Hall*, *Hampton-Court*, or *Kensington*, I still mention'd the Charter, and always found that the King, (although he judg'd it would be for the Advantage of *New-England*, to have a Governor Commission'd by his Majesty, yet that he) was graciously inclin'd to Restore Charter-Priviledges unto his Subjects in that Territory. Once, at *Hampton-Court*, his Majesty was pleas'd to bid me rest assured, that it should be so, if it were in his Power to cause it to be done. I advis'd with many wise Men about this momentous Affair, whose Judgment was, That the best, and most effectual Course would be, to endeavour a *Reversion of the Judgment* against the Charter of the Massachusets, by an Act of Parliament; and after that, to Petition the King for such additional Priviledges as should be thought needful. I pray'd Sir *Henry Ashurst* whom I knew to be a worthy Member of the Convention (as well as of this present) Parliament, to concern himself for the good People in that Countrey: Which he did without much intreaty, being of himself forward to do Good: Nor is it possible for *New-England* ever duely to Recompense him for his sincere Intentions, and assiduous Endeavours to serve them. We
both

both of us spake to many of the principal leading Men in that Parliament: The Issue of which, was, The *Commons of England* Voted the Taking away the Charters belonging to *New-England* (as of those in *England*) to be Illegal, and a Grievance, and that they ought to be Restored. A Bill was drawn up accordingly which Passed the *House of Commons*, and was sent to the *House of Lords* for their Concurrence, on January the Tenth, 1689. A great Interest, in behalf of *New-England*, had been made amongst the Lords; but that Parliament being unexpectedly Prorogu'd and Dissolv'd, a whole Year's *Sisyphæan Labour* came to nothing.

When this present Parliament met, it was, for some Reasons, thought not advisable to trouble them with the Affair of *New-England*. Some Essays were then made, to see if by a *Writ of Error in Judgment* the Case relating to the *Massachusetts* might be brought out of *Chancery* into the *Kings-Bench*. But an unexpected Providence rendred an Attempt of that Nature vain. Never did I see a more signal Hand of Heaven in any Matter, than in Disappointing all Designs and Frustrating all Hopes for Obtaining the so much desired full *Restitution* of all Charter-Priviledges, by a *Reversion* of the Judgment entred against them. There was now but one way left for the Settlement of *New-England, &c.* To implore the King's Royal Favour.

It was not in the King's Power to Reverse the Judgment against the Old Charter; nevertheless, his Majesty had Power to Re-incorporate his Subjects, thereby granting them a New Charter, which should contain all the Old, with New, and more Ample Priviledges.

This, Three of the *Agents* of the *Massachusetts Colony* Petitioned for; the Right Honourable the Earl of Monmouth
condescending

condefcending to deliver that Petition with his own Noble Hand. After which, through the Interceffion of a Great and Worthy Perfonage, the King was graciously pleafed to referr the Affair of *New-England* to the Confideration of the two Chief Juftices, with his Majefty's Attorney, and Sollicitor-General. They Four met three or four times: They were fo kind as to give me leave to be prefent with them at all their Confultations. The Heads of the Charter belonging to the *Maſſachuſets Colony*, and of that granted to Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, were prefented in Writing; together with what additional Priviledges we did at prefent pray for. They all thought there was nothing Unreaſonable or Prejudicial to the King's Intereſt in what was requested. Theſe things were prefented to the King by my Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*. The King ordered him to prefent them to the Council; which was done on the Firſt of *January* laſt; when they were referred to the Confideration of the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee for Foreign Plantations.

Immediately upon this, the King began his Royal Voyage for *Holland*; untill whoſe Happy Return nothing could be effected as to the Settlement of *New-England*. In the mean time, I drew up ſeveral Reaſons for the Confirmation of Charter-Priviledges granted to the *Maſſachuſets Colony*; which I diſperſed among the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council; and did particularly addreſs my ſelf to the greateſt part of them, humbly praying their Lordſhips Favour to *New-England*, in a Matter which ſeemed ſo Juſt and Equitable: And had aſſurance from many of them, that whenever the Affair of *New-England* ſhould come before the Council-Board, they would do what in them was, that *Ancient Rights and Priviledges might be Reſtored*.

Moreover,

Moreover, a Noble Personage did me the Honour to introduce me to the Queen, that so I might have an Opportunity to solicit Her Majesty's Royal Favour towards her Subjects in *New-England*. I assured her Majesty, That there are none better affected to their Majesties Government, and that on that account they had been exposed to the Rage of the *French*, and other Enemies to the present Government in *England*; and that the King having referred the Consideration of the Affair of *New-England* to the two Chief Justices, with the Attorney and Solicitor-General; we only prayed, that what they thought was reasonable, might be granted us.

The Queen graciously replied, That *that was a reasonable Request, and that she hoped it would be done for us, only it could not be done but by the Council*. Her Majesty moreover assured me, That she had divers times spoken to the King in behalf of *New-England*, and that, *for her own part, she desired that that People might not only have what was just done for them, but that something of Favour might be shown to them*. ————— I the rather mention this, that so all *New-England* may be excited to Pray for so Gracious a Queen.

When the King returned to *England*, he stayed not there above a Fortnight: In which time I had twice the Honour to wait on his Majesty in behalf of *New-England*. The First time I only delivered the last Address from the *General-Court* at *Boston*, viz. that of *Decemb. 16. 1690.* and a *Petition* from many Merchants in *London*, praying That Charter-Priviledges might be restored to *New-England*; and that some Frigats might be sent for the Security of those Coasts. The Second time, I humbly prayed the Continuance of his Royal Favour to his Subjects in that Territory. The King

was

was then pleased to aske me What I would have to be done for *New-England*? 'I humbly put his Majesty in mind of 'our Old Charter-Priviledges: And that if they should by 'his Royal Favour and Goodness, be restored, that would 'make his Majesty's *Name* Great in those Ends of the Earth, 'as long as the World should stand: That none of his Subjects prayed more for his Royal Person, and for the Success 'of his Arms, than they did: That they were all of them 'Protestants, and that they differed in lesser Matters from 'some others, being of those that were called *Presbyterians* 'and *Congregational-Men*: That his Majesty, in his great 'Wisdom, had considered the Circumstances of *England*, and 'the Circumstances of *Scotland*: That, according to his 'Royal Wisdom, he would consider the Circumstances of '*New-England* also; and that such Rulers would not be 'agreeable to them, as were very proper to the other *English* '*Plantations*.' The King replied to me, That within two or three days he expected a *Report* from the Committee of Lords, for *Foreign Plantations*, and that he should then see what could be done.

Two days after this (*viz.* on *April* the 30th. 1691.) it was by the Lords of the Committee proposed to the King, Whether he would have the People in *New-England* make what Laws, and appoint what Officers They pleased? Or, Whether He would have a Negative Voice on all Acts of Government? The King was very inquisitive to know whether he might, without any Breach of Law, set a Government over that Colony: (For we have a King now that will not Act contrary to Law.) The *Lord Chief Justice*, and some other of the Council, answer'd, That whatever might be the Merit of the Cause, inasmuch as the Charter of *Massachusetts Colony*, in *New-England*, stood vacated by a Judgment against them, it was certainly in the King's Power
to

to put them under what Form of Government he should think best for them. The King then said, That he was desirous to promote the Welfare of *New-England*, as well as of England; and that he believed it would be for the Good and Advantage of his Subjects in that Colony, to be under a Governour appointed by himself: Nevertheless, That he would have the Agents of *New-England* Nominate a Person that should be agreeable to the Temper and Inclinations of the People there; only that, at this time, it was necessary that a Military Man should be set over them; and that this notwithstanding, he should have Charter-Priviledges Restored and Confirmed to them.

The next day, the King began his Second Royal Voyage for *Holland*; but an *Order of Council* was drawn up, intimating, That it was the King's Pleasure to have a Governour of his own Appointing sent to New-England, who should have a Negative Voice in all Acts of Government: And, that the *Massachusetts Colony* should be settled on the same Foundation with *Barbadoes* &c. And that a Charter should be prepared accordingly. As soon as I had a Copy of this *Order of Council*, I went with it to four or five of the Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council: Every one of which said, That as it was worded, it did not (in their Opinion) agree with the King's Expressions or Intentions. Moreover, I caused a Copy of this Order to be transmitted to my Lord *Sidney*, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, then with the King in *Flanders*; praying, That if that Order, Signed by one of the Clerks of the Council, was not according to the King's Mind, His Majesty would graciously please to signify his Disapprobation thereof: But no such Signification ever came.

The Attorney-General, in the mean time, prepared a
Draught

Draught of a Charter, according to what he took to be the King's Mind, as expressed when his Majesty was last in Council. In that Draught, the Free-men (and not all Freeholders,) had Power to Chuse the Deputy-Governour, and the other General Officers: And the King's Governour had not a Negative Voice allowed him in any Case.

This Draught was presented at the Council-Board on the Eighth Day of *June* last; when it was by some objected, That by such a Charter as this, the King's Governour would be made a *Governor of Clouts*; and Order was given to prepare new *Minutes*, or *Heads*, for another Draught: Which indeed made the Charter designed to be no *Charter of Incorporation*, and did deprive the *Massachusetts* of some Essential Priviledges in their former Charter. When those *Minutes* were agreed on by the Lords, the Secretary of the Commission gave me a Copy of them; with an Order from their Lordships, That if the *Agents* of the *Massachusetts Colony* were not satisfied therewith, they should bring in their Objections to Mr. Attorney-General. I shewed the Order to the other *Agents*. Sir *Henry Ashurst* went with me to the Attorney-General. I expressed my Dissatisfaction, perhaps, with a greater *Pathos* than I should have done, earnestly protesting, that I would sooner part with my Life, than *Consent* to the *Minutes* or any thing else that did infringe any Liberty or Priviledge of Right belonging to my Countrey. The like I said to some Ministers of State: Who replied, That our *Consent* was not expected nor desired: For they did not think the *Agents* of *New-England* were *Plenipotentiaries* from another Sovereign State, but that if we declared that we would not submit to the King's Pleasure, his Majesty was resolved to settle the Countrey, and we must take what would follow.

I drew

I drew up some Reasons against the Minutes proposed; Sir Henry Ashurst joyned with me therein; we argued That the King had graciously promised a Restoration of Charter-Priviledges to *New-England*; and that Charter-Priviledges might with as much and more reason be withheld from any, or all the Corporations in *England*, which were never legally Restored, as from *New-England*; with several other Arguments too large to be here inserted. These Reasons we delivered in Writing to the King's Attorney-General, who presented them to the Lords at the Council Board. I likewise caused a Copy of them to be sent over to the King in *Flanders*. Moreover, some Great Ones at Court wrote to several of the Ministers of State who were with the King, entreating them to use their Interest with his Majesty, that nothing might be Imposed on *New-England*, which would be grievous to his good Subjects there.

Some were apt to think, that if the King were in *England*, we might prevail with his Majesty to signify his Disallowance of those *Minutes* which were so grievous to us; and that therefore it might not be amiss to write to the King in *Flanders*, praying that a stop might be put to any further Proceedings about the Charter, until his Majesty's happy Return to *England*. I desired a Great Person (whom I knew the Queen had an high Esteem of) to pray her Majesty to write to the King, That he would graciously please to Command that the Charter should Pass, as drawn up by the Attorney-General; or else that it should be Deferred until his Majesty's coming. The *Queen* was so kind as to do this for *New-England*. I now concluded that nothing more would be done for some Months.

By continual Attendance on this arduous Affair, I had broken my Natural Rest, and neglected my Necessary Food, insomuch that my Health was greatly impaired: Physicians
advised

advised me to recede into the Countrey, and use Mineral Waters for my Recovery.

Before I had been there long, I had (and was surprized at it) notice that the King had signified his Approbation of the *Minutes* which we were so much concerned about; and that it was his Royal Pleasure that *New-England* should be forthwith settled accordingly.

Likewise, a very great Man, and a great Friend of *New-England* desired a Person of Quality to advise me to take up with what was proposed; withall adding, that if the King were in *England*, as matters were now circumstanced, nothing more or better could be expected. I immediately returned to *London*.

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State assured me, that he had received such a Signification of the King's Pleasure as has been mentioned; and was pleased to let me see the Letter; wherein it was expressly declared, not only that the King did approve of the *Minutes* agreed unto by the Lords of the Committee, but that he did *by no means approve* of the *Objections* which the *Agents* of *New-England* had made against them.

We then resolved however to get as much Good, and prevent as much Hurt to the Countrey as possible might be. A Petition was Signed by Sir *Henry Ashurst* and my self, praying, That no Property belonging to that Colony, or to any therein, might by the *New Charter* be taken from them, nor any Priviledges which they had a Right unto: That the *Province* of *Mayn* might be Confirmed: *Nova Scotia* added to the *Massachusetts*: And, That *New Hampshire* might be put under that Government. As to what concerns *Hampshire*, we were told, the People there desired to be under any Government in the World, rather than that of *Massachusetts*. Great Opposition was made against what was proposed concerning the *Province* of *Mayn*, but at last it was granted,

and

and *Nova Scotia* so far as in the Charter is expressed. Just at this time, Letters came to my hand from *Plymouth Colony*, giving me the Thanks of the General Court there, for that I had prevented their being annexed to *New-York* (which was by some Persons of Interest designed above a Year ago :) And intimating, The the generality of People there desired to have a distinct Charter, and be confirmed as a distinct Government amongst themselves: But if that could not be obtained, that then, for the Lord's sake, I would endeavour that they might be united to *Boston*, rather than to *New-York*.

When I understood the Charter was finished, and had been read before the Lords, I prayed that I might see it, and carry it to Council; because there might be some Clauses in it which their Lordships might have such Reasons suggested to them, as they would think meet to expunge them, or to add some Particulars which might be Beneficial to his Majesty's Subjects in that Colony, and no ways Prejudicial to the King's Interest, nor yet inconsistent with those *Minutes* which they would not suffer to be contradicted. This Request was granted, only I must return the Copy within a few days: An Eminent Councillor perused it two or three times, and made his *Remarks* on it.

That Phrase of *Corporal Oath* was allowed, that so no Snare might be laid before such as scruple Swearing on the Book. A Clause was added, Confirming Grants made by the General Court, notwithstanding any defect that might attend the Form of Conveyance, that so Mens Titles to their Lands might not be invalidated, only for that the Laws which gave them their Right, had not passed under the Publick Seal in the time of the former Government. Some other Alterations we prayed for, but we could not obtain them.

The

The Question now, was, *Whether we should submit to this New Settlement? Or, in hopes of obtaining a Reversion of the Judgment against the Old Charter, signifie to the Ministers of State, that we had rather have no Charter at all, than such an one as was now proposed to acceptance?* I know that in the multitude of Councillors there is safety, and did therefore advise with many, and with Persons Unprejudiced, and of the greatest Wisdom and Ability to judge; with Noblemen, Gentlemen, Divines and Lawyers: They all agreed, that it was not only Lawful, but, all Circumstances considered, a *Duty* to submit to what was now offered. Some said, They were very weak Men, and unfit to appear as *Agents* for a *Colony*, that should make any Question of it. Others said, that a preremptory Refusal would bring not only a greater Inconvenience, but a fatal Ruine on *New-England*; and then Mankind would lay the blame on the Weakness and Wilfulness of the *Agents*, who when they could not have what they would, ought to submit to what they could get. The Opinion of the Lawyers, was, That such a Passive Submission was not a Surrender, inasmuch as nothing was done under Hand and Seal: Nor could there be a Surrender in this case, since Judgment was already Entred and Recorded against the Old Charter: Nor were the *Agents* capable of Surrendring, as not being *Plenipotentiaries*; and that their taking up with this, did not make the People in that Colony, in Law, incapable of obtaining all their Old Priviledges, whenever a favourable Opportunity should present it self; for the World knew, that in a present parting with any of their ancient Rights, they were forced to yield unto Necessity. I remember an Honest Lawyer, and a Well-wisher to *New-England*, told me, That if we were put to our Choice, whether to enjoy our *Old Charter* (which he was well acquainted with) again, just as it was, or to take up with this, (all things duely considered,) we were not wise if we did not

not chuse *this* rather than *that*. It was considered, That a Judgment, (right or wrong) not in Court of *King's-Bench*, but in *Chancery*, standing on Record against the *Charter* of the *Massachusetts*, whereby it was vacated and annihilated, *that* Colony was fallen into the Kings Hands; so that he might put them under what Governours, or what Form of Government he should please. Their *Agents* might beg for a full Restitution of all Ancient Priviledges, but they might not either Chuse or Refuse as to them should seem best. It was considered, That there was no probability of obtaining a Reversion of the Judgment against the former Charter. We saw it was in vain to attempt to bring it out of *Chancery* into the Court of *King's Bench*. There were thoughts of bringing the Matter into the *House of Lords* by a Writ of Error in Judgment; but it was believed that no *Curfitor* would now venture to Sign a Writ of Error; and that if he should, the Lords would not be forward to concern themselves in this Affair.

Although the Archbishop of *Canturbury* that now is, and many of the present Bishops, are Friends to *New-England*, (as well as to all good Men,) and I have cause to acknowledge the personal Respect I have received from many of them: And although a great Interest has been made for *New-England* amongst the Temporal Lords; nevertheless, when they should understand that the King was desirous to have the Countrey put under another Form of Government, which his Royal Wisdom judged would be better for them than what they formerly enjoyed, the Lords would be very flow in doing any thing that they knew would be dissatisfactory to his Majesty. And if they should see cause to take the Case of *New-England* into their Consideration, though they would not Justifie the manner of Proceedings; yet when they should hear all that was to be Objected against the

Governour

Governour and Company, on the Account of their having exceeded the Powers of their Charter in several Particulars, and in a very high degree, they would certainly judge that they had merited a Condemnation thereof. It was also Considered, That the Old Charter was, in more respects than one, very defective: For by that, the *Government* in *New-England* had no more Power than *Corporations* in *England* have. But those *Corporations* have not Power in *Capital Cases*. Both the Judges and Eminent Lawyers have assured me that though Power was given to *Corporations* in *Criminal*, except *Capital Cases* *be particularly expressed*, their Power does not reach so far: Nor was there any thing in the Old Charter concerning an *House of Deputies*, or *Assembly of Representatives*: Nor had the Governour and Company Power to impose Taxes on the Inhabitants: Nor to Erect *Courts of Admiralty* &c. The King's Attorney-General (who is no Enemy to *New-England*) declared, the two Chief Justices, and Solicitor-General, concurring with him, That supposing the Judgment against the Charter of the *Massachusetts* to be Reversed, if the Government should exert such Powers as before the *Quo Warranto* against their Charter they had done, there would now be a Writ of *Scire Facias* issued out against them in *Westminster-Hall*, and their Charter-Priviledges would undoubtedly be taken from them. And it was Considered, That if the Judgment against the Old Charter had been Reversed by *Act of Parliament*, the *Massachusetts Colony* would, for all that, have been in a far more miserable Condition than by the present Settlement they are reduced unto: For then the *Province of Mayn*, as to Government, would have been taken from them, since Government is a Trust that cannot be sold; and *Hampshire* (which would have been made to extend as far as *Salem*.) and *Plymouth*, would have been put under a Governour sent from *England*; which Governour would have had the

Command

Command over the Militia, and the Power of Admiralty &c in the *Massachusetts Colony*: So that, in fine, *Boston* would have been deprived of Trade, and the whole Colony made very insignificant: And if they had exerted Powers necessary for the Supportation of their Government, perpetual Complaints would have been made against them. It was moreover Considered, That if the Agents of that Colony had signified to the Ministers of State, that they had rather have no Charter at all, than this which the King was pleased to grant to them, the Consequence would have been, that they should have had a Governour wholly a Stranger to *New-England*, and a Deputy-Governour not acceptable to the People there; and many of his Councillors Strangers, and others of them such as were Androfs' Creatures; and that this Governour should have had the same Power which the Governours in other Plantations have, to Appoint the General Officers. They are very weak Men that doubt of this; and if they will look no further than their Neighbours at *New-York* and *Virginia*, they may see Demonstrations before their Eyes sufficient to convince them. It was likewise Considered, That some Persons in *London* were endeavouring to get a *Pattent* for all *Mines, Minerals, Gums &c* in *New-England*: Which Design was, of late, likely to have taken effect, only the New Charter has most happily prevented that which would have been of pernicious Consequence to all that Territory. It was further Considered, That by this *New Charter* great Priviledges are granted to the People in *New-England*, and, in some Particulars, greater than they formerly enjoyed: For all *English* Liberties are restored to them: No Persons shall have a Penny of their Estates taken from them; nor any Laws imposed on them, without their own Consent by Representatives chosen by themselves. Religion is secured; for Liberty is granted to all Men to Worship God after that manner which in their Consciences they shall be perswaded

is

is the most Scriptural way. The General Court may by Laws Encourage and Protect that *Religion* which is the general Profession of the Inhabitants there. They may still have *Judges, as at the first*; and *Councillors, as at the beginning*, if the fault be not their own. As long as their Principal Magistrates, Judges, Justices of the Peace, are such as will encourage Vertue and Piety, and punish Vice, Religion will flourish: And if they have not such, the fault will not be in the *New-Charter*, but in themselves; since no bad Councillor, Judge, or Justice of the Peace, can now be imposed on them. These things are as a Wall of Defence about the Lord's Vineyard in that part of the World. The General Court (now that the *Massachusetts Colony* is made a *Province*) hath, with the King's Approbation, as much Power in *New-England*, as the King and Parliament have in *England*; which is more than could be said in the time of the former Government there, which had only the Power of a Corporation. The General Court has now Power to impose Taxes upon all the Inhabitants; and to make Laws which shall Incorporate Towns, or Schools of Learning &c which by the First Charter they had not Power to do. That Countrey may now expect Protection and Assistance from *England*, as the Matter shall require, more than formerly. And although there are some things in this *New-Charter* which are not desirable, yet nothing that is intolerable. Take it with all its Faults, and it is not so bad, but that when I left *New-England*, the Inhabitants of that Territory would gladly have parted with many a Thousand Pound to have obtained one so good. The great fear is, that though at present there be a good Governour, (appointed by the King) who wisheth well to *New-England*; yet he will quickly be removed, and perhaps an Enemy come in his room. But I am morally certain of it, that if they hearken to the Advice of their best Friends, no Person not agreeable to *New-England*,

England, in respect of Religion, and the Temper of that People, will be set over them, during their present Majesties Reign, whom the God of Heaven send long to Live and Reign. Yet suppose it should be otherwise: Suppose a Person as bad as *Andros* (and the *New-Englanders* think there can hardly be a worse,) should come amongst them, What can he do? He cannot without the Consent of the Council Chosen by the Representatives of the People, appoint a Sheriff to pack Juries to serve his turn; nor Judges that will act against their Consciences, rather than displease him. Nor can he now send Men out of the Countrey, without their own consent. Nor can he and his Creatures make Laws, or Leavy Taxes; nor Invade any Man's Property, under pretence that it is the King's; and that they must come to him for Patents, that so they may have a true Title to their Lands and Estates. Nor can he, without violating the *Magna Charta* of *New-England*, disturb any Man for his Religion. The King's Governour has a Negative Voice in all Acts of Government; which may be thought a great Infringement of the Peoples Liberty; and indeed, makes the Civil Government of *New-England* more *Monarchical* and less *Democratical* than in former Times. Nevertheless, *the People have a Negative on him*. In which respect, *New-England* is by this Charter more priviledged than *Ireland*, and than any English Plantation whatsoever, or than they that live in *England* it self are. Appeals to *England* are allowed of by this *New Charter*; but only in *Personal* (not in Real or Mixed) *Actions*, where the matter of difference is above Three hundred Pounds Sterling in value. So that as to Titles of Land there cannot be any Appeal to *England*, but those Controversies are to have a final Determination in Courts of Judicature amongst themselves. And Laws Enacted by the *General Court*, are to be transmitted to the King for his Royal Approbation: Nevertheless, those laws,

when

when made, are to be in force as soon as made, until such time as disallowed of by the King: And if not within the space of Three Years the King's Disapprobation be not signified, those Laws are to be Perpetual, except by the General Court they shall be Repealed. By the Old Charter, the Governour and Company might not make any Laws contrary to the Laws of England: And such reasonable Laws as are not contrary thereto, will no doubt be Confirmed by his Majesty, if the People in *New-England* be not wanting to themselves as to due Endeavours that it may be so. All these things duely considered, the Best and Wifest Men in *England* thought that the Persons who were concerned for *New-England*, would do an ill Service for their Countrey, if they should preremptorially decline a Submission to this Settlement, and thereby bring upon themselves that which would be much more undefirable.

I must beg leave (for it is a Truth) to say this further, That whereas the People in *New-England* have not obtained all the Charter-Priviledges which they have at several times Petitioned Their Majesties for, they have more reason to blame themselves than those of their Agents, who did their utmost to procure every thing for them which they prayed for. Had they at the time of the Revolution, entred upon the *full Exercise of their Old Charter-Government*, and then humbly signified to the King that they had so done; and that they were perswaded, His Majesty, who declared, when Prince of *Orange*, That Charters and Ancient Priviledges should be restored to the English Nation in general, would not be offended at them on the account of their adhering to what was their undoubted Right; wise Men are of Opinion that they might have gone on without disturbance, until such time as new Complaints should be exhibited against them, on the account of doing things which by their Charter they were never impowered to do. But in an Address to the
King

King they assure his Majesty, That *they had not entred upon the full Exercise of their Charter-Government; but that not having received Directions from England, which they humbly waited for, they entred upon the Government for the Preservation of the Peace, until such time as they should receive an Orderly Settlement from England; which they prayed might be according to their Old Charter, that had been unrighteously taken from them.*

Now when wise Men in *London* saw this: Will you (said they) who are Agents for the *Massachusetts Colony*, refuse to submit to a Settlement of your Government from *England*, when your Principals have signified to the King that they will do it? Who gave you that Power of Refusal? Has the General Court, in an Address to the King, declared, They have not entred on the full Exercise of their Charter-Government, but that they wait for the King's Pleasure, as to their Settlement; then surely they have not given you private Instructions not to submit? And if they have not, you cannot answer your Refusals to your Principals, nor to the King, nor to Mankind. Have not your Magistrates caused a new Clause to be added to the usual Oath to be taken by the Assistants, *viz*, That if *contrary Orders arrive from England*, that Oath shall not oblige them to serve as Assistants until the Year be expired? Shall then their Agents protest against such Orders?

Such as these have been the Reasonings of wise Men in *London*. Moreover, the Government in *New-England* Petitioned the King to assist them with Frigats, and Supplies of Arms and Ammunition; which was, in effect, to pray for a Governour. They could not be so weak, to think the King would send the one without the other.

When I wrote to this purpose to a principal Person in Government there; the Answer returned to me, was, That
I,

I, and other Persons that were employed as Agents for that Colony, ought to look on it as the principal thing committed to our Care and Trust; and that, *preferable to all other things whatsoever*: To endeavour the obtaining Assistance from their Majesties against the French and other Enemies; and that this was the fence of the generality of the sober People in *New-England*. So that if these two came in Competition, either to have the Old Charter just as it was, or to get Assistance from *England*; we were told we should be Unfaithful to our Trust, if we did not prefer the latter to the former.

Yet further: The Countrey was so impoverished by the Wars made upon them, as that they could not send a competent Supply to their Agents for the management of their Affair.

Besides what was sent to me out of *New-England*, I expended upwards of Two Hundred Pounds of my own Personal Estate, out of Love to that People. And I did, for their sakes, borrow of a Merchant in *London* above Three Hundred Pounds more, which was Two Years before care was taken for the Repayment of it.

The last Year, some who were hearty Well-wishers to *New-England*, wrote thither, That they must consider, their Life, their Religion, the Welfare of their Posterity for ever, depended on a suitable Supply for their Agents that were concerned in Transacting their great Affairs at Court. This notwithstanding, for more than a Twelvemonth, not one Penny was returned: So that I was necessitated, either to suffer Ruine to come upon the Countrey where I had spent the greatest part of my Life, or else must borrow Money again to serve them: Which I did, and Engaged all the Estate I have in the World for the Repayment thereof: This is more than ever any man did before me, and perhaps
more

more than any Person so Circumstanced as I have bin, will do after me.

And what was I able to do more? I do humbly affirm, That there is not a man in this World, that has done more, nor so much, towards the obtaining of a full Restitution of all Charter-Priviledges to *New-England*, as I have done. And as to the undesirable Minutes in the New Charter, there is no person living that has manifested his dissent therefrom, or more opposed, or done more to prevent them, than I have: But to reject all the Good therein, because of some things inconvenient, is that which I dared not be guilty of. As Day and Night have seen it, so I can, and I do appeal to Heaven and Earth, that I have served that People with all Fidelity to the very utmost of my Power.

And now they must give me leave to give them the best Advice I can. I shall not need (for they will do it of themselves) to perswade them to send an Address of Humble Thanks to their Majesties, for their Royal Favour in Restoring Property, and in Conferring greater Priviledges on *New-England*, than have bin granted to any other *English* Plantation. And for that their Majesties have been graciously pleased to put the present Government of *New-England* into good hands. The Person Nominated for Governour (Sir *William Phipps*) is one that has ventured his Life to serve his Countrey. When *Gideon* did so, the Children of *Israel* were desirous that he should Rule over them: The Deputy-Governour, Mr. *Stoughton*, is one whose worth is known in both *Englands*. One of more than ordinary Accomplishments, both as to parts Natural and Acquired, and as to Vertue and Integrity. And as for the Twenty Eight Assistants, who are appointed to be of the Governours Council, every man of them is a Friend to *New-England*, and to the Churches

Churches and Interest of Christ therein. To be in the hands of such Rulers is an invaluable Mercy.

As for me, whom the Lord Jesus has made use of as an Instrument in his Hand, for obtaining this Mercy for *New-England*; I desire no Acknowledgement, nor any Reward in the least, for the Difficult and Expensive Service I have for their sakes gone through. Let me wait for my Recompense till the Resurrection of the Just. But if that People be not thankful to God, and to the King and Queen, for what has been done for them; not only the King and Queen, but the Majesty of Heaven, may justly be incensed against them. To be thankful for what is given, is the way to receive more from God and Men.

But let me Propose,

1. That the *General Court* do, without delay, agree upon a Body of Good Laws. They may make such Laws for the Settlement of the Militia, and for the securing of Liberty to the Subject, as shall be better than their Old Charter. And as to what concerns the Upholding of Religion in that Countrey, there are especially Two things which may be done. The one, is, By Laws to Encourage an Able and Faithful Ministry. The other, is to take care that the *Colledge* be Confirmed in such Hands, as will make it their Concern to Promote and Propagate Vertue and Learning. It was in a special manner with respect thereunto, that I did undertake a Voyage for *England* above Three Years and an half since. As long as that Countrey lay unsettled, as to the Civil Government, I could not do much for the Colledge; only I prevailed with a Gentleman of my Acquaintance, to bequeath a Legacy of Five Hundred Pounds to that Society. And now in this *New-Charter*, all Donations or Revenues granted to that Academy, are by the King, under the Great Seal of *England*, Confirmed. I humbly proposed to some great

great Ministers of State, That a particular Charter might be granted for the Incorporating that School for Academical Learning. Answer was made, That it should be so, if I desired it: But that a better way would be, for the *General Court* of the *Massachusetts Colony*, by a Law, to Incorporate their Colledge; and to make it an University, with as ample Priviledges as they should think necessary; and then transmit that *Act of the General Court* to *England*, for the Royal Approbation; which would undoubtedly be obtained. I look upon this Particular alone, to be well worth my going to *England*, and there serving half an Apprenticeship; for that no small Concernment of Religion, and the Happinefs of future Generations, are comprehended in this Matter respecting the Colledge.

2. I take it to be good Advice, That Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, should be Established throughout the Province, of such as are Men fearing God; and that their Commissions continue, *Quam diu se bene gesserint*.

However it shall be, whether my Counsels be followed or not, or whether my sincere Intentions, and unwearied Endeavours to serve *New-England*, find Acceptance with them or no, I have this to comfort my self with, That God has been so gracious to me, as to make me instrumental in obtaining for my Countrey a *MAGNA CHARTA*, whereby Religion and English Liberties, with some peculiar Priviledges, Liberties, and all Mens Properties, are Confirmed and Secured, (Allowance being given for the Instability of all Humane Affairs) to Them and their Posterity for evermore.

LONDON
Novemb. 16.
1691.

INCREASE MATHER.



AN

EXTRACT of a LETTER

(WRITTEN

By some of the most Eminent *Nonconformist Divines* in *London*,)

Concerning the

NEW CHARTER

Granted to the

Colony of *Massachusetts* in *NEW-ENGLAND*.

To the much Honoured *General Court* Assembled at *Boston*
in *New-England*.

Much Honoured Gentlemen,

We must give this true Testimony of our much Esteemed and Beloved Brother, Mr Increase Mather, That with inviolate Integrity, excellent Prudence, and unfainting Diligence, he has managed the great Business committed to his Trust. As he is instructed in the School of Heaven, to minister in the Affairs of the Soul; so he is furnished with a Talent, to transact Affairs of State. His Proceedings have been with that Caution and Circumspection, as is correspondent to the weight of his Commission. He with Courage and Constancy has pursued the Noble Scope of his Employment; and understanding
the

the true Moment of things, has preferred the Publick Good to the vain Conceits of some, that more might have been obtained, if peremptorily insisted on. Considering the open Opposition, and secret Arts, that have been used to frustrate the best Endeavours for the Interest of New-England, the happy Issue of things is superiour to our Expectations. Your present Charter secures Liberty and Property, the fairest Flowers of the Civil State: And which is incomparably more valuable, it secures the enjoyment of the blessed Gospel in its Purity and Freedom. Although there is a restraint of your Power in some things that were granted in your former Charter; yet there are some ample Priviledges in other things, that may be of perpetual Advantage to the Colony.

We doubt not but your faithful Agent will receive a gracious Reward Above; and we hope his successful Service will be welcom'd with your entire Approbation, and grateful Acceptance.

LONDON

Octob. 17.
1691.

We are,

*Your very Humble
And Faithful Servants,*

<i>William Bates,</i>	<i>John James,</i>
<i>Thomas Woodcock,</i>	<i>Samuel Annesley,</i>
<i>Matthew Mead,</i>	<i>George Griffith,</i>
<i>Matthew Barker,</i>	<i>Richard Mayo,</i>
<i>Richard Stretton,</i>	<i>Isaac Chauncey,</i>
<i>Vincent Alfop,</i>	<i>John Quick.</i>
<i>John Howe,</i>	

THE END.



NOTE.

¹⁰⁵ In regard to the foregoing pamphlet, Calef (*More Wonders of the Invisible World*, Drake's edition, iii, 150) writes as follows :

" Mr. Mather perhaps fearing he should have but small thanks here for his having so far an hand in bringing upon them those unacceptable Changes, wrote and caused to be Printed, an Account of his Negotiation ; but surely by some Error in the Conception, it proved only an *Embryo*, and was stifled as soon as born. One indeed, designed to be as is were a Posthumous, was left with Mr. Bailey, formerly of *Boston* and a Member of the North-Church, with a charge not to suffer it to be seen till he were gone to *New-England* ; yet it seems that some other person got a sight of it, which was the occasion of Mr. *Mather's* sending him that Minatory Epistle, by some call'd a Bull."

In reply to this, we quote from " Some Few Remarks upon a Scandalous Book written by Robert Calef," pp. 28-29, as follows : " The Author of the Scurrilous Book now need not to wonder that Mr. *Mather* should Print a *Brief* Narrative of his Negotiation in England : He had before sent a written Copy thereof to *New-England*, which was read in the General Court (as we are informed) unto their great Satisfaction. Yet he did not without grounds conjecture that there might be other persons in the world, of the same Kidney with this *Calf* ; and therefore, that so (especially in case of his own Mortality at Sea) his Friends might do him Justice, it was great Prudence in him to Print a convenient Number of Copies of the said *Narrative*. The *Adversary* on this occasion goes on to fling at Mr. *Mather*. A Letter he sent to one in *England* at the same time with himself, who formerly belonged to the *North-Church* in *Boston*, which Letter (he says) *some call a Bull*. But what matters it if they call it so, and a *Calf* too ? Since that, the person he mentions is returned to *New-England*, and he did acknowledge his Error before Mr. *Mather* and one of the *Deacons* of the *North-Church*. Whereupon Mr. *Mather* did as became a Disciple of Christ, Forgive him, and declared himself Reconciled unto him."

From all this it appears that Mr. Bailey was careless in his discharge of duty, and that Mather reprimanded him sharply. The edition of the Narrative of the Agents was certainly not cancelled, as copies of this pamphlet do not seem to be of peculiar rarity.



I. MATHER'S

ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS.

1693.

PREFATORY NOTE.

¹⁰⁸ The following tract is prefixed to the sermon entitled "The Great Blessing of Primitive Counsellours. Discourfed in a Sermon, Preached in the Audience of the Governour, Council, and Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England. May 31st. 1693. Being the Day for the Election of Counsellours, in that Province. By Increase Mather. President of Harvard Colledge, in Cambridge, and Teacher of a Church at Boston, in New-England. Bene agere & Male audire Regium est. Boston, Printed and Sold, by Benjamin Harris, Over against the Old-Meeting-House. 1693." Pp. 23. Our transcript is made from a copy kindly furnished us by GEORGE BRINLEY, Esq., of Hartford.

The Sermon was on Isaiah i. 26, "I will Restore thy Counsellours as at the Beginning."

P. 19. "And let us further add here, that it is very meet that persons Nominated for Counsellours should be men of Estate, and of some Port in the World." "Let me also say to you who are the Representatives of this People, that it will not be prudence in you (at this time especially) to propose such Assitants to the Governour as you cannot but know that He cannot Accept of, and so necessitate him to make use of his Negative Voice, when He has no desire to do it. And you cannot but know that whoever is Governour, He will judge it necessary that many of his *Council* should have their Habitations near to his, that so if any sudden Emergency or Danger to the Publick should happen, his Council may be at Hand to Advise with. And you cannot but know that no Governour will take those into his Council, who are *Malecontents*, and do what in them is, to make others to be Disaffected to the Government. No Governour can take such men into his Bosome.

And as for your self Excellent Sir, whom God has made the Captain over his People in this Wilderness, It is a very great Power which the Divine Providence has put into your Hands, that you should have a *Negative* on the *Elections* of this Day. A Power which I confess neither you nor any one else should have had, if any Interest that I was capable to make, could have prevented it. You know Sir, that I humbly argued against it to the Kings Majesty, and to many of His chief Ministers of State. But now I see that God has ordered it to be as it is in Mercy to this his People." &c., &c., &c., &c.

On p. 22, Mather urges his hearers to pray for the King and Queen. "A King that has more than once or twice in my hearing and to me, expressed a singular respect to His Good Subjects in these Colonies." "A Queen that has (to my certain knowledge) interceded with the King, that He would be kind to New-England."



TO THE
INHABITANTS.

Of the *Province* of the *Massachusetts-Bay*

IN
NEW-ENGLAND.



hat this Colony was happy as to Civil Government whilst they Enjoyed their *Former Charter*, is most certain. Not that there were no imperfections attending that First Patent. Our Neighbours in the other Colonies saw that there were some material Defects therein, which are not in their Charters, that were Granted after *Ours*. But inasmuch as by Vertue thereof, the Freeman had full Power to Chuse their own Rulers, they could not be Miserable, unless by unhappy *Elections* they made themselves so.

That some great Priviledges contained in the *Old Charter*, are not in that which at Present we enjoy, is known to every one: Nevertheless there is that in it which calls for great Thankfulness to God, whose Providence has Smiled as well as Frowned upon us. By Vertue of this Charter every man is Confirmed in the Peaceable Enjoyment of his *Estate* and *Property*. Nor can any *Taxes* now be imposed on you, or
Laws

Laws made, without your own consent by such *Representatives* as your selves shall Chuse. And (which is a greater matter) you are for ever delivered from all Impositions on *Conscience*, which not many years ago you were afraid of. You may serve God with all the *freedom* which your hearts can desire. Nor can there be any *Judge* or *Justice of Peace*, but such as the *Counsellours*, who are to assist the Governour shall consent unto. Nor any *Counsellours* Confirmed besides such as the *Representatives* of the Province shall Nominate to the Governour. *These* are things which if you sleight or undervalue them, the Most High will doubtless be Offended. Nor is a *Murmuring Spirit* the right way to obtain *more*. When the Children of *Israel* *Murmured* against those that had been the Instruments of their Salvation, what did they get by it? For my own part, If I desire any thing in the World, I Wish your *Prosperity*, and that you were in a Frame fit for, and might enjoy all the Priviledges which your selves can Wish for, in Order to your own Happiness. And I thought I had given Demonstrations of my great affection to you, both whilst present with you, and absent from you : which notwithstanding some ill men (Who they are I know not) have caused reports to flye about the Country, as tho During my Negotiation for you in *England*, I never opened my mouth for the Vindication of *New-England*, and never endeavoured the *Restoration* of ancient Priviledges, but in taking up with the present Charter (when more could not be obtained) followed my own Opinion without the advice of such as were your Friends ; and acted contrary to Instructions received from the General Court. But if I never did any thing for the Vindication of the People in this Province, from the Aspersions cast upon them by their Adversaries, I desire to know who it was that Published the *Narrative of the Miseries of New-England*, and that afterwards wrote a *First, Second, and Third, Vindication of the People there?*

If

If I never endeavoured the Restoration of Old *Charter-Priviledges*, by means of whose Sollicitations was it, that *Votes* were passed in the *Honourable House of Commons*, that the Old Charter should be restored, and a *Bill* wherein the Judgment against that Charter was Reversed, a Copy whereof I can produce? And who was it that wrote and dispersed *Reasons for the Confirmation of that Charter*? Or, that did oftentimes Humbly Address Their Majesties, and Their Principal Ministers of State concerning that affair? Day and Night have seen, Heaven and Earth have heard, both Worlds are Witnessees, with what Importunities I have Solicited both God and Man, for all your ancient Priviledges, yea and for Additionals unto them, according to the Instructions which the General Court sent unto me, about my attendance to every one of which I gave to the General Assembly a Particular and Satisfactory account at my first Arrival.

That I did not take one step without the Advice of the Wifest and Best Friends which *New-England* has in *England*; there are many in *London* can attest. My Worthy Dear Friend Mr. *Matthew Mead* in a Letter to a Relation of mine in *Boston*, is pleased thus to Write.

Mr. Mather, *Has deserved highly of New-England, for the unfainting Diligence and Indefatigable Endeavours he has showed in his Agency for that People. And whilst some with you may perhaps wonder that he has obtained no more, we here, who have the Advantage of a better Prospect, wonder that he has done so much. And if men Reward not his great work, and Labour of Love, I am sure God will. What he has done has not been without the Counsel and Advice of the best Friends that Country has in this, both Parliament Men, Lawyers and Ministers; and to be thankful for what you have for the present is the way to get what you want hereafter.* These are the words of Mr. *Mead*. It were indeed

indeed improper for me to produce a tenth part of the Testimonies wherewith no inconsiderable persons have Spontaneously favoured and furnished me to Justify my integrity in this matter; nevertheless, the Injuries done me (which I cannot be so Stoical as not at all to resent) since my Return to *New-England*, make it but a reasonable piece of Justice to my self, to bring forth one or two more of them. Not only Mr. *Mead*, but many other Eminent Ministers, with whom I had the Happiness of a free Conversation in *London*, for the space of Three or Four Years, were so kind as to send a Letter to the *General Court in Boston*, Expressing their Approbation of my Proceedings. The Letter bears Date, *October 17th. 1691.* And is Subscribed by Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Annesly*, Mr. *Griffith*, Mr. *Barker*, Mr. *Woodcock*, Mr. *Alsop*, Mr. *How*, Mr. *Mayo*, and several Other Eminent Divines in that City. Modesty would restrain me from mentioning that respectful Character they are pleased to impose upon me, did not the Suggestions of some Whisperers necessitate thereunto, that so my Friends and Countrymen may be truly informed concerning my transactions in their behalf. Their words are as followeth.

We must give this true Testimony of Our much Esteemed and Beloved Brother Mr. Increase Mather, that with Inviolable Integrity, Excellent Prudence, and Unfainting Diligence, He has managed that great Business, committed to his trust. As He is Instructed in the School of Heaven to Minister in the affairs of the Soul, so He is furnished with a Talent to transact affairs of state. His Proceedings have been with that Caution and Circumspection as is Correspondent to the weight of His Commission. He with Courage and Constancy has pursued the Noble Scope of his Employment, and understanding the true moment of things has preferred the Publick Good to the vain conceits of some, that more might be obtained if Peremptorily insisted on. Considering the open opposition
and

and secret arts that have been used to frustrate the best Endeavours for the Interest of New-England, the happy Issue of things is superiour to our Expectations.

Your present Charter secures Liberty and Property, the fairest Flowers of the Civil State, and which is incomparably more valuable, it secures the enjoyment of the Blessed Gospel in it's Purity and Freedom. Altho' there is a restraint of your Power in some things, that were Granted in the former Charter, yet there are more Ample Priviledges in other things that may be of Perpetual advantage to the Colony. We doubt not but your faithfull Agent will receive a Gracious Reward above; and we hope His successful Service will be welcom'd with your entire approbation and grateful acceptance. Thus those Reverend and Learned Persons.

The *Whisperers* that have endeavoured to make people believe that the Ministers who Subscribed that Letter did afterwards repent of their so doing, are *Forgers of Lies*. Nor would those Worthy Persons account it any other than a *Calumny* to have such a thing said of them, Four or Five of them having since that Written Letters to some in *Boston* of the same Import with the Former. And so have several Gentlemen in *London*, whose Sentiments and Expressions for the present I forbear to mention.

And whereas that Right Worshipful Gentleman, Sr. *Henry Ashurst*, with whom I had the Honour to be Joyned in the same Agency, in behalf of this Colony, has bin unworthily reflected on by some Male-Contents; for *His* Vindication as well as My own, and that as the Inhabitants of this Province, both such as are now Living, and such as shall come hereafter, may see, to whom they have (under God) bin Beholden, for what Restored *Liberties* and Confirmed *Properties*, they now do, and are like to possess; I Judge it proper and necessary to publish some passages in his Letter sent to the
General

General Affembly at Boston, Dated *December 28th.* 1691. In which He thus Speaks.

I have not for above Twelve Months troubled you with any of my Letters, because I know my Worthy Friend, Mr. Mather, did not omit any opportunity of acquainting you with every thing wherein your Interest was concerned. I shall not much Inlarge upon the Services that Mr. Mather has done, for you have His True Character sent you by the Reverend Dr. Bates, and other the most Eminent Ministers in and about this Town. But I am sure He has been Faithful to your Interests, and diligent, and unwearied in your service, with neglect of his Health. He hath lived here for You, and deserveth the greatest Marks of your Favour you can bestow on him. Mr. Mather and My self in Transacting your affairs did not leave any way unattempted that the wisest Friends we could consult with, could direct us to. When the King was Petitioned to make alterations in your Settlement, and to appoint a Governour, and other General Officers, we then joyned all our interests together, and obtained the Naming of every one of them, and other Priviledges that are not granted to any other Plantation. None have been more industrious by all possible means then Mr. Mather, and My self to have obtained your Old Charter. I hope Mr. Mather will do me that justice, to assure you, that I have never omitted any opportunity of serving you to the utmost of my Power. Thus that Worthy Gentleman.

I must now do Him that Right He expects from Me, before all the World. And as I have elsewhere said, I say again, it is not in the Power of *New-England* duely to Reward his Endeavours. But to requite him with Censures, will not be only *Vile Ingratitude* (the *Compendium* of all Evil) but great Folly. You cannot loose *His* Friendship alone: and who will ever make an Interest for you again, if He must be rewarded with *Slanders* for all His Care and Pains? By
such

such things you may soon make yourselves *Friendless*, and the most miserable people in the World. Some Friends of mine in *England* who were very willing I should spend the remainder of My days amongst them, told me, that they had bin informed that the People of *New-England were always ungrateful to their Publick Servants*, & that altho' they knew I had with Industry & Fidelity served them to the utmost of my Capacity, they doubted, whether they would be sensible of it or no. My reply to them was, that (with the Divine Permission) I would go to *N. Engl.* & see, and if I found their prognostications true, I should see (the dear people in *Boston* concurring with me) my Call clear to return to *England* again. And now I cannot understand but that the Inhabitants of the Province do generally rejoyce in what they at present enjoy. And their Representatives did (the last year) not only thank me, but were so civil as to propose a *Reward* for the service I had done for them, which I was not free to except being desirous to convince my Country that (as the Apostle said to his *Corinthians*) *I have fought them not theirs*. And that I expect my Reward in another World. Nevertheless inasmuch as there are *some* (a few are too many) ill Spirits who make it their design, by Slanders to disaffect others, I have complied with the advice of those who perswaded to the Publishing these things that so Credulous persons may not be imposed on by the invented stories of a few Whisperers. I Remember that at My departure from *London*, taking my leave of a Noble Personage, and Craving His Lordships Advice what might be said to satisfy the People of *New-England*, now they were deprived of so great a Privilege as that of Chusing their own Governour, His Reply to Me was.

If they will be Dissatisfied, it is Impossible that they should be Dissatisfied at *You*, for Mankind knows that *You* did all that you could to obtain that and all other Privileges which
 themselves

themselves can wish for. But were I in Your Case, at my Return to *New-England*, I would say to them, *Gentlemen, I have brought to You, the Best Charter I could get for you, 'Tis in Your Power, whether you will accept of it or no; If you like it not you may if you please send it back to the King, and send over a more Fortunate Agent!* And let them Try (said my Lord) whether they can find a man in all *New-England* that can get a *better Charter* for them, than you have obtained.

The true and plain State of the Case was this: The Colony lay a Bleeding for want of a Settlement as to Civil Government. The General Court had in an Address to the King signified, *That the former Governour and Assistants did not think it safe, to Enter on the full Exercise of their Old Charter Government, but did Accept of the Government for the present until by direction from England, there should be an Orderly Settlement.* The Agents had no Instruction from their Principals not to submit unto whatever Settlement should in *England* be concluded best for them. So that if they had refused what was offered, they could not have answered their so doing. It is an Old Proverb, That *half a Loaf is better than no Bread.* And I must confess I am not of their Opinion, who if they cannot have *every thing* they desire, they will have *nothing*; who prefer their *Late Bondage* to their *present Liberty*; who if they must have a Governour Set over them by the King, had rather have a *bad* than a *good* man for such Reasons as I am not willing to mention.

The Lord pardon their Folly. And *O my Soul come not thou into their Secret, unto their Assembly be not thou United.* If after I have done my utmost to Serve you, my Sollicitudes, and the Difficulties that I have gone thro' for your sakes, must have a Requital with that which is known in *New-England* by the Infamous Name of *Country-Pay*, I trust the Grace of God will keep me from being too sensible of it. I
am

am not Confcious to my felf of any hurt or wrong I have done, unlefs four years hard Service for the prefervation of your Liberty and Property, and the procuring of Gifts for you from Royal and from other Benefactors of greater value than all the Mony I did in that Time Expend on your account, and all this without the leaft Reconpence be a wrong to you. *Forgive me that wrong.* You are at this day faved from Slavery and Ruine. Whoever has been the Instruments of obtaining fuch Mercy for you, certainly you will neither pleafe *God* nor Honour *yourselves* by abufing them. However you deal with *Me*, be not unkind to *others*, who have deferved well at your Hands. Neither Leffen *Divine* or *Royal* Favours beftowed on you. I pray God it may never be worfe with you as to Civil Government then it is at prefent; and then you will be in that refpect, as happy a people as any on the Face of the whole Earth at this Day.

If the *Sermon* herewith Emitted, caufe *Praises* to that God who has Reftored *Counfellors as at the Beginning*; & Prayers for the continuance of fo *great a Bleffing*; My Design in granting the Importunate Defires of many for its Publication, will be attained. The Lord has Tryed *New-England* with Signal Favours once more, having put them into the hands of Rulers that feek their Welfare; and He waits to fee whether they will be Thankful, and fhew themfelves fit for the continuance of fo great a Bleffing; but if inftead of that fruit which he expects from fuch a people, there fhall be found amongft them many *Murmurers* againft God and his Servants, there is no reafon to think otherwife, but that He will very fpeedily change the Tenour of his Difpenfations towards us, which I Implore the Mercy of Heaven to prevent.



LETTER OF THE LONDON MINISTERS TO THE GENERAL COURT.

¹⁰⁷ We have already printed (*ante*, p. 297,) that part of this Letter, which was first printed in the Agent's Account. The whole letter is printed in the "Reply to Calef" by Mather's friends, and we here give the parts which precede and follow the sentences already copied.

' Much honoured Gentlemen,

' The restoring your *Charter*, upon which the Security and Publick Good of your Colony depends, we Congratulate with as joyful Affections, as with tender ' Repentments we Condoled the deprivation of it. When your and our State was ' in appearance desolate beyond humane Counsel and Power to redress, then ' Deliverance came from above: and in our deep Darkeness, the Day-spring from ' on High visited us. We most humbly Admire and Adore the Glorious Author ' of that Blessed work: And we cannot but pay our most Grateful Respects and ' Dutiful Subjection to His Chosen Servant, our Sovereign, the happy Instrument ' of it. All the Colours of Language are not lively and grateful enough to ' express His benefits to us. He has the Honour of Establishing our Religion at ' home, and gives us hopes of Restoring it abroad, in places from whence it has ' been Unrighteously and Cruelly expelled.

' Some among you may wonder there has been so long delay before your ' *Charter* was finished, but if you consider the Torrent of affairs in the Court after ' the Late Revolution, it will lessen the wonder.

' The Truth is, your affairs were so Difficult and Thorny, that the rare Union ' of the Wisdom of the *Serpent* and the Innocence of the *Dove*, was requisite in ' the Commissioners managing of it. A peremptory Refusal of any Charter but ' of an uniform Tenor with the first, had been like too strong a Medicine that ' Exasperates the Disease instead of Curing it. In affairs of great importance, ' 'tis wisdom maturely to deliberate and Consider conditional events, and by the ' foresight of Inconveniences that will otherwise follow, to accept of such things ' as are best with respect to their Circumstances.

' We must therefore give this true Testimony of our much Esteemed and ' Beloved Brother, &c., &c.

[The next sentence is as before printed. The last reads as follows.]

' We doubt not but your Faithfull Agent will receive a Gracious reward above: ' and we hope his successful Service will be welcomed with your entire approbation ' & grateful acceptance. We now with ardent affections recommend our ' Dear Brother to the Divine mercy, that thro' such dangerous Seas he may ' safely arrive at his desired place: And we earnestly pray that the Blessings of ' Heaven may be always upon your Colony; that by the Light and Power of the ' Gospel, the Prince of Darkeness may be expelled from his ancient Dominions; ' and the Kingdome of our Saviour may be Established & Enlarged by the ' Accession of the American Heathen to be His Inheritance.

' Much Honoured Gentlemen

' We are

' Your very Humble & Faithful Servants.'

AN
ACCOUNT
OF
MATHER'S AGENCY
IN A
REPLY TO CALEF.

BOSTON: 1701.



PREFATORY NOTE.

¹⁰⁸ We propose to place here certain statements relating to Mather's acts as Agent to England, which were printed in the course of a controversy relating to the Witchcraft delusion. In 1693, Cotton Mather printed his "Wonders of the Invisible World," and Robert Calef of Boston was fortunately led thereby to enter into a dispute with him in regard to the honesty of the diabolical manifestations. In 1700, Calef printed his "More Wonders of the Invisible World," and having been for several years disputing with both the Mathers, he did not hesitate to repeat the unfriendly version of Increase Mather's labors in obtaining the New Charter, then current in New England. For this he had two opportunities given him, first in part V of his book, (Drake's edition, vol. iii, pp. 18, 19,) where he speaks of Sir William Phips's arrival. At this point Calef writes, "Agents being in this time impowered in England, which no doubt did not all of them act according to the Minds or Interests of them that impowered them, which is manifest by their not acting jointly in what was done."

Before Calef had passed his book through the press, Cotton Mather gave him a much better opportunity to express his opinions on the subject of the Agency, and Calef fully availed of it. Cotton Mather published in 1697, at London, a "Life of Sir William Phips," and in it he gave a glowing account of his father's great services. Such an account was perhaps warranted by the relations existing between Mather and Phips, but the subject being thus open to discussion, Calef promptly added a postscript to his book in order to criticize the conclusions. After noticing several errors in other matters, Calef gives the following account of the Revolution here, and of Increase Mather's acts as Agent. (Drake's edition, iii, 145-151.)

"Upon the Day of the Revolution here, tho the greatest part of the People were for reassuming their Ancient Government, pursuant to his Royal Highness' Proclamation; yet matters were so clog'd, that the People were dissuad without it, who did not in the least mistrust but that those who were put out of the Government by Mr. *Dudley*, would reassume: Mr. *Broadstreet*, who had been then Governour, being heard to say that Evening, when returned home, *That had not he thought they would have reassum'd, he would not have stirr'd out of his House that Day*. But after this, some that were driving at other matters, had opportunities

nities by Threats and other ways not only to prevail with that good Old Gentleman, but with the rest of the Government wholly to decline it ; which some few observing, they took the opportunity to call themselves a Committee of Safety, and so undertook to Govern such as would be govern'd by them.

“ It has been an observation of long continuance *that matters of State seldom prosper, when managed by the Clergy*. Among the opposers of the reassuming few were so strenuous as some of the Ministers, and among the Ministers none more vehement than Mr. *Cotton Mather*, Pastor of the *North Church in Boston*, who has charged them as they would answer it another day to reassume. Among his Arguments against it, one was that it would be to put a slight upon his Father, who, he said, was in *England*, labouring for a compleat Restoration of Charter Privileges, not doubting, but they would be speedily obtain'd. Any Man that knows *New England* cannot but be sensible, that such Discourses from such Men, have always been very prevalent. And hence it was that even those that would think themselves wronged, if they were not numbred among the best Friends to *New-England*, and to its Charter, would not so much as stoop to take it up, when there was really nothing to hinder them from the Enjoyment thereof.

“ After the Committee of Safety had continued about seven Weeks, or rather after Anarchy had been so long Triumphant, an Assembly having been call'd came to this resolve and laid it before those Gentlemen that had been of the Government, that if they would not act upon the Foundation of the Charter, that pursuant to it, the Assembly would appoint some others in that Station. The Answer to which was, that they would accept, &c. And when a Declaration signifying such a reassuming, was prepared with the good liking of the Deputies, in order to be published, some that were opposers, so terrified those Gentlemen, that before publishing it was underwritten [that they would not have it understood that they did reassume Charter-Government] to the no small amazement of the People, and disappointment of the Deputies, who if these had not promised so to act, had taken other care, and put in those that would.

“ The next principal thing done was, they chose two of their Members, *viz.* one of the upper House, the other of the lower, both of them Gentlemen of known Integrity as well as ability, to go to *England*, in order to obtain their Resettlement ; and in regard Mr. *I. Mather* was already there, they joined him, as also a certain Gentleman in *London* with these other two : Those from hence being arrived in *London*, they all united for the common Interest of the Country, though without the desired effect. They were in doubt, whether it were best to Improve their Utmost for a reversal of the Judgment in a Course of Law, or to obtain it in a Parliamentary way, or to Petition his Majesty for a New Grant of former Priviledges ; And considering that the two first might prove Dilatory and Expensive, as well as for other reasons, they resolved upon the latter, and Petition'd his Majesty for the Countries Resettlement, with former Priviledges, and what further additional his Majesty in his Princely Wisdom should think fit. Accordingly it pleased his Majesty to declare in Counsel his Determination, *viz.* That there should be a Charter granted to *New-England*. But the Minutes then taken thereof, and a Draught of the *New-Charter* being seen, it was the Opinion of the two Gentlemen sent from hence, that it were best to tarry his Majesties return from *Flanders* ; in hopes then to obtain ease in such things as might be any ways deemed to be grievous. And this was the result of the Advice of such
as

as were best able to give it, that they could meet with, and accordingly they wholly desisted taking it out of the Offices.

"But Mr. *Mather* and that other Gentleman had, as it is said, other advice given them, which they strenuously pursued, and his Majesty having left it as is asserted in this of the Life of Sir *William*, P. 57, to them to nominate a Governour, they pitcht upon Sir *William Phips*, who was then in *England*, [As the most likely and able to serve the King's Interests among the People there; under the changes in some things unacceptable now brought upon them, P. 62.] and without tarrying for the concurrence of those other Agents, the Charter was taken out, &c.

"But Mr. *Mather* perhaps fearing he should have but small thanks here, for his having so far an hand in bringing upon them those unacceptable Changes, wrote, and caused to be Printed, an Account of his Negotiation, but surely by some Error in the Conception, it proved only an *Embryo*, and was stifled as soon as born. One indeed, designed to be as it were a *Posthumous*, was left with Mr. *Bailey*, formerly of *Boston*, and a Member of the *North-Church*, with a charge not to suffer it to be seen till he were gone to *New-England*; yet it seems some other person got a sight of it, which was the occasion of Mr. *Mather's* sending him that Minatory Epistle, by some call'd a Bull. But besides this, for fear of the worst, Mr. *Mather* got several *Non-con* Ministers to give him a Testimonial, or Letters of Commendations for his great Service herein.

"In the mean time, Mr. *Cotton Mather*, being in some doubt of the same thing, handed about a Paper of Fables; wherein his Father under the Name of *Mercurius*, and himself under the Name of *Orpheus*, are extoll'd, and the great Actions of *Mercurius* magnified; the present Charter exalted, by trampling on the former, as being very defective, and all those call'd unreasonable that did not readily agree with the New one: And indeed the whole Country are compared to no better than Beasts, except *Mercurius* and *Orpheus*; the Governour himself must not Escape being termed an Elephant, tho as good as he was great, and the Inferiours told by *Orpheus* that for the quiet Enjoyment of their Lands, &c. they were beholding to *Mercurius*. Tho this Paper was judged not convenient to be Printed, yet some Copies were taken, the Author having shown variety of *Heathen Learning* in it.

"This is in short that eminent Service for which the said Mr. *J. M.* is in the present Book so highly extoll'd. In so many Pages, that to repeat them were to transcribe a considerable part of the said Book."

This public attack upon Increase Mather was soon answered by the publication of a pamphlet entitled "Some Few Remarks upon a Scandalous Book against the Government and Ministry of New-England, written by one Robert Calef. Detecting the Unparallel'd Malice & Falsehood of the said Book; and Defending the Names of several particular Gentlemen, by him therein aspersed & abused. Composed and Published by several Persons belonging to the Flock of some of the Injured Pastors and concerned for their Just Vindication. *Truth will Come off Conqueror*. Boston, N. E. Printed by T. Green, Sold by Nicholas Boone, 1701." Small 8vo, pp. 72.

The responsible authors were Obadiah Gill, John Barnard, John Goodwin, William Robie, Timothy Wadsworth, Robert Cumbey, and George Robinson, all members of the Second Church in Boston. A large portion of the pamphlet was composed of materials avowedly furnished by the Mathers, and the following items may be specially mentioned. P. 12, a letter from Rev. Matthew Mead, and p. 13, an extract from one from Sir Henry Ashurst, both printed in 1693, in Mather's Preface to his Election Sermon, (*ante*, p. 308.) Pp. 14-17, the Letter from the London ministers to the General Court, in praise of Mather, published in the Agents' Account, (*ante*, p. 297-8.) Pp. 22-28 contain a statement by Increase Mather on a point concerning the negotiation of the New Charter herewith reprinted in the following pages, 319-323. Pp. 34-59 are given to a letter from Cotton Mather in his own defense. There are a few other documents incorporated in the text, but at the end a postscript signed by the two Mathers formally denies that they were the writers of any portion of the book, except of course of the letters attributed to them.

We have no intention of entering into the Calef controversy, and have simply taken out those documents which bear upon the history of the grant of the New Charter.





INCREASE MATHER'S
Account of a Part of his Acts as Agent,
As given in a Pamphlet by his friends
in Reply to Robert Calef, in 1701.

When the *King* was pleased to give a positive Command that the *Charter* of *New-England* should be dispatched, it was not for the *Agents* to say, it shall not be so. True it is, that *all the Agents* when they saw what *Minutes* would be inserted in the *Charter*, were desirous of a delay until the *King's* happy return to *England*. And I may without vanity say, no man laboured to have it so, more than my self. I prayed Arch-Bishop *Tillotson* to intercede with the *Queen* for this favour to us, who at my request did so. Moreover, I drew up several Reasons against that which in the *Minutes* of the *New Charter* is most grievous to us, which were by Sir *Henry Ashurst* and my self delivered to His Majesties Attourney General on July 24, 1691; and which I did also send to my Lord *Sidney*, one of His Majesties principal Secretaries of State, then with the *King* in *Flanders*. I now thought that there would be no further proceedings about the *Charter* for *New-England* before His Majesties return. *Physicians* advised me to go into the *Countrey* and use

use the Mineral waters for the recovery of my impaired Health. Before I had been there *Three weeks*, I was to my surprize sent for to *London*, with information that the *King* had signified His Royal Pleasure to the Earle of *Nottingham*, that there should be a procedure with a *Charter* for the *Maffachusetts Colony*, according to the *Minutes* that the Lords of the *Committee* for *Plantations* had agreed to, notwithstanding the *Objections* of the *Agents* to the Contrary. A certain Person then in the world, gave out that I was imposed on, and made to believe that such a Signification of His Majesties Pleasure was sent to the Secretary of State, when there was no such thing. I therefore prayed the Earle of *Nottingham* (who was then the principal Secretary of State), to be so kind, as to order his *Clerk* to give me a Copy of what the *King* had ordered should be done, which his *Lordship* was pleased to gratify me in, and I still have the Original Copy written with the hand of his Lordships Clerk, by me. It is in these words.

Extract of a Letter from my Lord *Sidney* to my Lord *Nottingham*. Dated

Court, Aug. 10, 1691.

My Lord.

I have received your Lordships of July 31. and have shewed it to the King, and the Enclosed order upon the Report of the Committee of Plantations, touching the Minutes for a Charter for the Maffachusetts Colony, wherein His Majesties further Pleasure is desired. I am now commanded by the King to let your Lordship know that he doth approve of what the Committee hath done in that matter, and can by no means admit of the Objections of the Agents of the said Colony, and therefore would have your Lordship proceed accordingly.

This is a true Copy compared with the Original

Richard Warre.

Now let the world Judge, yea and *Robert Calef's* Conscience (if it be not feared) judge, whether he has done well to endeavour to Blemish my Reputation in Print, by insinuating as if I had done amiss in not stopping the proceedings in the Charter for this *Province*, when it was not in my power to do it. Yet nevertheless, after this I obtained those clauses in the *Charter*, which Confirm all donations to Schools of Learning, and all Grants of Lands by former General Courts &c., to be inserted in the present *Charter*: for which better men than *Robert Calef* are of Opinion that the *Countrey* owes me Thanks. I shall further add, that after the *Charter* was finished several Right Honourable Persons said to me, they were glad of what was gained, and they could assure me that if the proceedings had been delayed until the Kings return, more would not have been obtained.

I hear that some of *Robert Calef's* Abettors whisper, that the Reverend Ministers at *London* Repented of their writing such a Letter of Attestation to my Fidelity, and that in a *Fast* they bewailed their Sin in that matter. It must needs be *Malice* that has invented such a Ridiculous Story. Had it been *True*, it is very *Strange* that none of them would signify it to me, but the contrary. Part of this was whispered seven Years ago, when in Print I charged the Authors of that report to be *Forgers of Lies*.¹⁰⁹ It was particularly whispered, that the Reverend Mr *Quick* Repented of his Subscribing the Letter. Whereupon I wrote to him concerning it, and Mr. *Quick* returned an Answer in these words.

You write of some persons, who have Reported my Repentance for Subscribing your Attestation. Sir, I have not the Command of other mens Tongues. As for W. he is a man
to

¹⁰⁹ See Preface to his Election Sermon, *ante* p. 307.

to whom I am an utter Stranger, having never heard his Name before I read it in your Letter. Another and I, had some Discourse about you. The Sum of my Answer to them was this, I knew you to be a Learned and Prudent man, and believed you to be one Fearing God, and therefore durst not Credit what any one should say of you in your Absence. And I pray you let not other mens Reports of me, at so great a distance be Credited against me. I Subscribed the Letter Voluntarily and Conscientiously, as I believe did all those other Revered Ministers who gave you their Hands: and I know nothing to the contrary, why I should not joyn in such Good Company.

Thus writes the Reverend Mr *Quick*.

Moreover when the Famous Dr. *Annesly* was informed that some Reported as if he Repented of his having Set his Hand to that Letter, he replied with some warmth of Spirit; *If there be any need of it, I will Set both my Hands to it: For Mr Mather did well, when he could not possibly obtain more for his Country, to take up with the best he could get.*

I am also told that there are some men who formerly had no great kindness for *Robert Calf*, but are now, because of his reviling me and my Son (which not a little gratifies the *Enemies* to the Holy Churches of *New-England*) become his great *Friends*; and that these complain that I spent the Country a great deal of Money during my *Agency* in their behalf. These little men know not what it is to attend in the Courts of Kings for Four Years together; if they did, they would not make that objection. And sure I am, that when I did at the desire of many principal persons in the Country, undertake a Voyage for *England* in *April* 1688, People in this Province would gladly have given *Ten times* more than what I expended in their Service, on condition they

they might have Restored and Confirmed to them what they now enjoy: yea, if it had been but in *one Article* of it. But besides this I may truly affirm, that in effect I served the Countrey on *Free Cost*. For I never demanded the least Farthing as a Recompence for the Time I spent in attending on their Affairs, but instead thereof, I procured in *Donations* for the Publick (besides the Priviledges of the Charter it self which though not so great as I would have had & as I would gladly have parted with all I have in this world to have purchased, are greater than any other Plantations besides *New-England* enjoys: I say, besides these things I secured in *Donations* to the Province and the Colledge) at least *Nine Hundred Pounds* more than all the Expences of my Agency came to. This being plain *matter of Fact*, which the whole *General Assembly* once had laid before them, I suppose all Reasonable men will own That Reproaches cast on me for my *Expensiveness* in the Public Service are most Ungrateful and Unworthy.





PREFATORY NOTE.

¹¹⁰ Calef, in his "More Wonders," (Drake's edition, iii. 151,) says that about the time that Increase Mather was preparing the Narrative of his Agency, Mr. Cotton Mather "handed about a Paper of Fables; wherein his Father under the Name of *Mercurius* and himself under the Name of *Orpheus* are extoll'd, and the great actions of *Mercurius* magnified." "And indeed the whole Country are compared to no better than Beasts, except *Mercurius* and *Orpheus*, the Governour himself must not escape being termed an Elephant, tho' as good as he was great, and the Inferiours told by *Orpheus* that for the quiet Enjoyment of their Lands &c they were beholding to *Mercurius*. Tho' this Paper was judged not convenient to be printed, yet some Copies were taken, the Author having shewn a variety of *Heathen* Learning in it." (See *ante*, p. 317.)

Although the fact escaped the careful eye of Calef's editor, S. G. DRAKE, Esq., this Paper of Fables was printed from the manuscript in 1825, in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, 3rd Series, i. 126-133. It will be found among the so-called Hutchinson Papers, in which collection also is printed the first draft of Increase Mather's "Brief Relation of the State of New England," (*ante*, pp. 148-170.)

The editors of that volume of the "Collections" were undoubtedly ignorant of the authorship of the Fables; but now that it is ascertained, and their meaning made apparent, it seems proper to reprint them in connection with the other documents on the same subject.





POLITICAL FABLES,

BY

COTTON MATHER.

I. The New Settlement of the Birds in New England.



HE birds had maintained good order among themselves for several years, under the shelter of charters by Jupiter granted to several flocks among them : but heaven, to chastise many faults too observable in its birds, left them to be deprived of their ancient settlements. There were birds of all sorts in their several flocks; for some caught fish, some lived upon grains; the woodpeckers also made a great figure among them; some of them scraped for their living with their claws; and many supplied their nests from beyond sea. Geese you may be sure there were good store, as there are everywhere. Moreover, when they had lost their charters, those poetical birds called harpies became really existent, and visited these flocks, not so much that they might build nests of their own, as plunder and pull down the nests of others.

2. There were many endeavours used by an eagle and a goldfinch, afterwards accompanied with two more,—no less deserving

deserving the love of all the flocks, than desirous to serve their interest,—that flew into Jupiter's palace, for the resettlement of good government among the birds. These endeavours did for awhile prosper no further than to stop the inroads of harpies or locusts; but at length Jupiter's court was willing that Jupiter's grace, which would have denied nothing for the advantage of them, whose wings had carried them a thousand leagues to serve his empire, should not be hindered from giving them a comfortable settlement, though not exactly in their old forms.

3. Upon this there grew a difference of opinion between some that were concerned for the welfare of the birds. Some were of opinion, that if Jupiter would not reinstate the birds in all their ancient circumstances, they had better accept of just nothing at all, but let all things be left for the harpies to commit as much rapine as they were doing when they were ejecting every poor bird out of his nest, that would not, at an excessive rate, produce a patent for it; and when Canary birds domineered over all the flocks. Others were of opinion, that the birds ought rather thankfully to accept the offers of Jupiter; and if anything were yet grievous, they might shortly see a fitter season to ask further favours, especially considering that Jupiter made them offer of such things as all the other American birds would part with more than half the feathers on their backs to purchase. He offered that the birds might be everlastingly confirmed in their titles to their nests and fields. He offered that not so much as a twig should be plucked from any tree the birds would roost upon, without their own consent. He offered that the birds might constantly make their own laws, and annually choose their own rulers. He offered that all strange birds might be made incapable of a feat in their council. He offered that it should be made impossible for any to disturb the birds in singing of their songs to the praise of their
 Maker,

Maker, for which they had fought liberty in the wilderness. Finally, he offered that the king's-fisher should have his commission to be their governor until they had settled what good orders among them they pleased; and that he should be more concerned than ever now to defend them from the French kites that were abroad. The king's-fisher indeed was to have his negative upon the birds, but the birds were to have a negative too upon the king's-fisher; and this was a privilege beyond what was enjoyed by the birds in any of the plantations, or even in Ireland itself.

4. The birds, not being agreed in their opinion, resolved that they would refer it to reasonable creatures to advise them upon this question—which of these was to be chosen; but when the reasonable creatures heard the question, they all declared none that had any reason could make any question of it.

II. *The Elephant's Case a little stated.*

WHEN Jupiter had honoured the elephant with a commission to be governor over the wilderness, there were certain beasts that began to quarrel with him for accepting that commission. The chief matter of mutter among themselves was to this purpose: They had nothing to say against the elephant; he was as good as he was great; he loved his king and country better than himself, and was as universally beloved. But (they said) they feared he was but a shoeing-horn; in a year or two either Isgrim the wolf, or Bruin the bear, would succeed him. Jupiter's commissions may come into such hands as will most cruelly oppress those, whom Jupiter most graciously designs to protect.

2. The elephant understood these growlings, and assembling the malecontents, he laid these charms upon them:
 “My

"My countrymen, 'tis I that have kept off the shoe, whereof ye are so afraid. I had refused the commission for your government, if I had not seen that you had certainly come into Isgrim's or Bruin's hands upon my refusal. My desire is, that Jupiter may have the satisfaction of seeing you saved from the dangers of perishing either by division among yourselves, or by invasion from abroad, was what caused me to accept my commission. Besides, Jupiter hath now favoured you with such circumstances, that if Isgrim or Bruin themselves should come, they could not hurt you without your own consent. They might not raise one tax, or make one law, or constitute one civil office, or send one soldier out of the province, without your concurrence. And if, after all that I have done for you, not only employing of my purse, but also venturing my life to serve you, you have no better name for me than a shoeing-horn, yet I have at least obtained this for you, that you have time to shape your foot, so as, whatever shoe comes, it shall fit easy upon you."

3. Upon this the whole forest, with grateful and cheerful hearts, gave thanks unto the elephant; and they aspired to such an exercise of reason, in this as well as in other cases, that they might not be condemned to graze under Nebuchadnezer's belly.

III. *Mercury's Negotiation.*

MERCURY had been long diverted from his desired employment of carrying messages between earth and heaven, by his agency in Jupiter's palace on the behalf of the sheep, for whom he was willing to do the kindness of a shepherd. It grieved his heart within him to see the beasts of prey breaking in upon the sheep, after their folds had been by the foxes broken down.

2. He

2. He laboured with an assiduous diligence to get the sheep accommodated in all their expectations: but after long waiting and seeking to get their folds rebuilt after the old fashion, he found it necessary to comply with such directions as Jupiter, by the advice of Janus, had given for the new shaping of the folds; otherwise he saw the poor sheep had been left without any folds at all; and he could not but confess, the new modelling of the folds would more effectually defend them, in these days of common danger, from the wolves, though some inconveniences in it had caused him always to use all means for the sheep's better satisfaction.

3. When Mercury returned to the sheep, he found them strangely metamorphosed from what they were, and miserably discontented. He found that such things as the sheep would have given three quarters of the fleece on their backs to have purchased, when he first went from them, they were now scarce willing to accept of. He found that there were, (though a few,) which had the skins of sheep on them, and yet, by their claws and growls, were indeed, he knew not what. He was ready to inquire, whether no mad dogs had let fall their slaver upon the honest sheep, since he found here and there one begun to bark like them, and he feared whether these distempers might not hinder their ever being folded more.

4. Orpheus had an harp, which sometimes formerly had reduced the beasts unto a temper little short of reason, and being jealous lest the hard censures bleated out against Mercury (as if he had been the cause of their new forms now brought upon the folds) might produce ill effects, he improved his harp upon this occasion. I don't remember the rhythm of his notes, but the reason was to this purpose: "Pray, all you friends, which of Mercury's administrations is it whereat you are so much offended? Are you angry because he evidently ventured the ruin of his person and family by the circumstances

circumstances of his first appearance in Saturn's palace for you? Are you angry because, for divers years together, he did, with an industry indefatigable to a prodigy, solicit for the restoration of your old folds; but with a vexation like that of Syfiphus, who was to roll a great stone up an high hill, from whence he was presently kicked down, so that the labour was all to begin again? Are you angry because he has employed all the interest which God has wonderfully given him with persons of the greatest quality, to increase the number of your powerful friends: addressing the king and queen, the nobility, the convention and the parliaments, until the resettling of your old folds was most favourably voted for you? Is your anger because the signal hand of heaven overruled all these endeavours? Or is your displeasure that he hath cost you a little money to support his negotiations? I am to tell you, that he spent two hundred pounds of his own personal estate in your service—never like to be repaid. He made over all his own American estate, that he might borrow more to serve you. At length he has obtained in boon for your college, and in the bounty, which he lately begged of the royal Juno, (a bounty worth more than fourteen or sixteen hundred pounds sterling,) got more for you than he has yet expended for your agency. Had you not starved your own cause, you had never missed so much as you say you have of your own expectations. Besides, how came you to have your title to all your lands and properties confirmed for ever? Not one of you doth own one foot of land, but what you are now beholden to Mercury for your being undisturbed in it. Are you displeased because you have not a reversion of the judgment against your folds? It was none of his fault; and had such a thing happened, you had then been far more miserable than you are now like to be: for both Plymouth and the eastern provinces had been most certainly put under a commission government; so
likewise

likewise had Hampshire ; and if they should have a Brellin, yet his government would have reached as far fouth as Salem itself. How finely had your flock been deprived of your trade by this, and squeezed into an atom ! Nor could you have proceeded again, as formerly, upon your charter, without being quo-warrantoed. Are you displeased because he did accept of Jupiter's offers ? I say he did not accept, and the way is left open for you to recover all the liberties you would have, when you see a time to move in a legal way for it. Yea, he did absolutely reject as many of the offers as he could, and procured them to be altered. The rest he did not refuse, because you had infallibly been left open to a western condition, if he had gone on to protest. Moreover, you yourselves had forbidden him to refuse. Are you troubled because your liberties, whether as Christians or as Englishmen, are fully secured ? Are you troubled because you have privileges above any part of the English nation whatsoever, either abroad or at home ? Are you troubled that your officers are to be for ever your own ; so that, if you please, you may always have your judges as at the first, and the counsellors as at the beginning ? Is it your trouble that, by being without your charter, you are put into a condition to do greater and better things for yourselves than the charter did contain, or could have done ? Did any man living more zealously oppose those one or two things that you account undefirable, than this faithful Mercury, at whom you fret for those things ? Or must very much good be frowardly thrown away, because 'tis not all ? If you would have more, don't blame your Mercury that you have so much."—So sang Orpheus, and, for the better harmony of the musick, eleven more of the celestial choristers joined with him in it.

5. The sound of those things caused the sheep to be a little better satisfied ; but Mercury was not much concerned
whether

whether they were or no, for he looked elsewhere for all the reward of his charitable undertakings; and he knows, he that would do froward sheep a kindness must do it them against their wills; only he wished the sheep would have a care of all snakes in the grass, who did mischief by insinuating, and employed their hisses to sow discord.

IV. *An additional Story of the Dogs and the Wolves, the Substance of which was used, an hundred and fifty Years ago, by Melancthon, to unite the Protestants.*

THE wolves and the dogs were going to meet each other in a battle, upon a certain old quarrel that was between them; and the wolves, that they might know the strength of the dogs aforehand, sent forth a scout.

2. The scout returned, and informed the wolves that the dogs were more numerous than they. Nevertheless, he bid them not be discouraged; for the dogs were not only divided into three or four several bodies, which had little disposition to help one another, but also they were very quarrelsome among themselves. One party was for having the army formed one way, and another party another. Some were not satisfied in their commanders; and the commanders themselves had their emulations. Nor did there want those among them, that accounted it more necessary to lie down where they were, and hunt and kill flees, than march forth to subdue wolves abroad. In short, there was little among them but snapping and snarling at one another; And therefore, said he, monseurs, let's have at them: we shall easily play the wolf upon them that have played the dog upon one another.

3. This is a story so old, that, as the good man said, I hope it is not true.



MEMBERS
OF
THE PRINCE SOCIETY.





MEMBERS
OF
THE PRINCE SOCIETY, 1868-9.

SAMUEL GARDNER DRAKE, <i>President</i>,	.	.	.	.	Boston, Mass.
JOHN WARD DEAN,	}	<i>Vice Presidents</i> ,			
J. WINGATE THORNTON,		" "			
EDMUND F. SLAFTER,		" "			
WILLIAM S. APPLETON, <i>Recording Secretary</i>,	.	.	.	.	" "
JEREMIAH COLBURN, <i>Treasurer</i>,	.	.	.	.	" "
WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, <i>Corresponding Secretary</i>,	.	.	.	.	" "

William Sumner Appleton,	.	.	.	.	.	Boston, Mass.
William Henry Whitmore,	.	.	.	.	.	" "
John Ward Dean,	.	.	.	.	.	" "
Jeremiah Colburn,	.	.	.	.	.	" "
Samuel Gardner Drake,	.	.	.	.	.	" "
Thomas Waterman,	.	.	.	.	.	" "
John Wingate Thornton,	.	.	.	.	.	" "
Winflow Lewis,	.	.	.	.	.	" "
William Blake Trask,	.	.	.	.	.	" "
Historical Society of Pennsylvania,	.	.	.	.	.	Philadelphia.
John Kimball Wiggin,	.	.	.	.	.	Boston, Mass.

Members of the

Henry Martyn Dexter,	Boston, Mafs.
William F. Fowle,	" "
Francis Brown Hayes,	" "
Charles J. Whitmore,	" "
Charles P. Wiggin,	" "
Frederic Kidder,	" "
Charles Deane,	Cambridge, Mafs.
John Phelps Putnam,	Boston, "
William Porter Jarvis,	Boston Highlands.
Henry M. Brooks,	Salem, Mafs.
S. Alofsen,	Jersey City, N. Y.
J. Romeyn Brodhead,	New York.
George L. Balcom,	Claremont, N. H.
John Fowler, Jr.,	New York.
William T. R. Marvin,	Boston, Mafs.
Frederic W. G. May,	Dorchester, Mafs.
New York Society Library,	New York.
William Menzies,	"
J. Carlon Brevoort,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Thomas J. Lee,	Boston, Mafs.
Theodore Irwin,	Ofwego, N. Y.
George W. Wales,	Boston, Mafs.
Long Island Historical Society,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
E. B. McCagg,	Chicago, Ill.
Henry Wheatland,	Salem, Mafs.
Henry Austin Whitney,	Boston, "
John V. L. Pruyn,	Albany, N. Y.
Joel Munfell,	" "
Alonzo Hall Quint,	New Bedford, Mafs.
Redwood Library,	Newport, R. I.
Thomas Addis Emmett,	New York.

Prince Society.

John Harvard Ellis,	Charlestown, Mafs.
Charles I. Buſhnell,	New York.
Rachel Wetherill,	Philadelphia.
David Pulſifer,	Boſton, Mafs.
Charles Eliot Norton,	Cambridge, Mafs.
New York State Library,	Albany, N. Y.
Samuel L. M. Barlow,	New York.
Samuel Holden Parſons,	Middletown, Conn.
Charles Sumner Fellows,	Boſton, Mafs.
John E. Godfrey,	Bangor, Me.
W. Elliot Woodward,	Boſton Highlands.
T. O. H. Perry Burnham,	Boſton, Mafs.
Eraſtus Corning,	Albany, N. Y.
Abner Cheney Goodell, Jr.	Salem, Mafs.
George D. Phippen,	“ “
George M. Whipple,	“ “
William F. Matchett,	Brighton, Mafs.
S. S. Purple,	New York.
William H. Tuthill,	Tipton, Iowa.
Deloraine P. Corey,	Boſton, Mafs.
George Brinley,	Hartford, Conn.
Henry Barton Dawſon,	Morriſania, N. Y.
Henry D. Fowle,	Boſton, Mafs.
New England Hiſtoric-Genealogical Society,	“ “
Hubbard Winſlow Bryant,	Portland, Me.
John Marſhall Brown,	“ “
Joſeph Leonard,	Boſton, Mafs.
John Kimball,	“ “
Charles H. Stone,	“ “
Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society,	“ “
Williams College Library,	Williamſtown, Mafs.

Prince Society.

Henry Dow,	Boston, Mafs.
Charles Carter,	" "
James Parker,	Springfield, Mafs.
George Williams Pratt,	Boston, Mafs.
Edmund Farwell Slafter,	" "
William Whitwell Greenough,	" "
Edward Payfon Boon,	New York.
Edward Sprague Rand,	Boston, Mafs.
James Frothingham Hunnewell,	Charlestown, Mafs.
Harry Herbert Edes,	" "
Nathaniel Paine,	Worcester, "
William Blanchard Towne,	Boston, Mafs.
Samfon R. Urbino,	" "
James R. Brooks,	" "
Frederic Boucher,	" "
Thomas F. Dwinal,	" "
Edward Brainerd,	" "
George W. Parker,	Springfield, Mafs.
John S. H. Fogg,	Boston, Mafs.
Public Library,	" "
Mercantile Library,	New York.
Free Public Library,	Worcester, Mafs.
Ashbel Woodward,	Franklin, Conn.
Edward Sprague Rand, Jr.	Boston, Mafs.
American Antiquarian Society,	Worcester, Mafs.
Samuel Page Fowler,	Danvers, Mafs.
Boston Athenæum,	Boston, Mafs.



I N D E X.





ALPHABETICAL INDEX.

A.

- Acadie, 229.
Albany, 217, 220.
Allen, 197, 239.
Allin, 230.
Almy, 230.
Allop, 298, 306.
Ambrosfoggen, 208.
Andros, Sir Edmund, receives comifion, 4; goes to Hartford, 4; a Guernfeyman, 5; imprifons and fines his fubjects, 6, 41; takes the South meeting-houfe for Church fervices, 44, 211; favors the Indians, 51; furrenders the Government, 105; order releafing him, 173; account of his overthrow, 197-201; accufations againft, 176, 177; his reply, 178-181. Lift of Documents relating to, xxxi, xxxii.
Annelley, 298, 306, 322.
Afhurst, Sir Henry, xxiii, 134, 175, 178, 230, 275, 281, 282, 283, 307, 318, 319.

B.

- Bailey, 299, 317.
Baldwine, 2, 149.
Baltimore, Lord, coins money, 116.
Bant, 132, 133.
Barbados, 114, 129, 132, 280.
Barker, 298, 306.
Barnard, 318.
Bates, 298, 306, 308.
Bath, xxvii.

- Baxter, 230.
Bellingham, 46.
Bifhop, 85.
Blaithwayt, 10, 130, 194.
Blake, 131.
Boone, 317.
Borland, 133.
Bofton, 153, 161, 216; fire at, 201.
Boftoneers, 55.
Bowden, 239.
Bowditch, 46.
Bowers, 61, 62, 81, 82.
Boyle, 230.
Brackett, 214.
Bradford, 44, 85.
Bradstreet, xxi, 16, 44, 85, 109, 200, 209, 315.
Brakenburg, 133.
Brent, 206.
Brenton, 57.
Bridge, 8.
Brinley, xxix, 43, 130, 302.
Brown, xxix, 162, 190, 204.
Buck, 55.
Bulkeley, xxx, 43, 77, 84, 85, 102.
Bullivant, 65.
Burnet, xxv, 73, 272.
Byfield, xx, xxx, 190.

C.

- Calef, xxx, 299, 315, 317, 319, 321, 322, 324.
Cambridge, 7, 8, 62, 82, 110.
Canada, 217, 235, 237, 261.

Canterbury,

Alphabetical Index.

Canterbury, Archbishop of, xxv, 204,
272, 286.
Cape Cod, 167.
Caribbee Islands, 114, 157, 180.
Carmarthen, Marquis of, 174.
Carter, 133.
Casco Bay, 208, 214.
Castine, 50, 54.
Castle Island, 186.
Chamberlayne, 27.
Charlestown, 7, 61, 62, 63, 69, 72, 79,
82, 107, 108, 236.
Charter of Massachusetts, its restoration
promised, 16, 17; new Charter
granted, xxiv-xxviii.
Charters in England restored, 10.
Chauncey, 298.
Chauncy, 84.
Church, 214.
Clark, 7, 16, 133.
Clutterbuck, 133.
Coggan, 46.
Coining at Boston, 115, 140.
Coke, 90.
Compton, Bishop, 3, 11.
Concord, 84.
Connecticut, xxxii, 85, 87, 88, 89, 132,
154, 155, 219, 220, 227, 237.
Cooke, xxii, xxiii, 130, 134, 173, 175,
178, 186, 187, 230.
Cornwall, 181, 213, 219.
Cotton, 167.
Cotton-Hill, 46.
Coward, 55, 239.
Cox, 130.
Cromwell, 159.
Crouch, 130.
Cumbey, 318.
Cutler, 61, 81, 82, 110, 239.

D.

Danby, Earl of, 174.
Daniel, (Indian,) 166.
Danfy, 39.
David, (Indian,) 52.
Davis, xxxii.
Dearing, 183.
Declaration, Prince of Orange's, 194,
195, 209.

Devonshire, Earl of, 12.
Dickfone, 8.
Dolberry, 132, 133.
Dows, 239.
Drake, xxix, xxx, 324.
Dudley, 130, 173, 176, 177, 182, 183,
188, 197, 204, 262, 315.
Dun, 55.
Dunton, 18.
Dyer, 239.

E.

East Greenwich, 77, 120, 152.
Eastham, 167.
Edwards, 239.
Elliot, 132, 166, 167.
Ellis, 130.
Empson, 5, 49.
Episcopalians, petitions, 28, 236; build
a church, 45, 211; their chapel at-
tacked, 63, 212; disturbances at
Lilly's funeral, 65, 66; laws against,
118; irregular marriages, 37; not
disliked in New England, 73.
Ettles, 8.
Eyre, 196.

F.

Falmouth, 214.
Farwell, 176, 177, 186, 188.
Fees extorted by Andros, 6.
Fitch, 85.
Force, 151.
Fort-Hill, 196.
Foster, 216.
Fox, 8.
Foxcroft, 32, 65, 67, 239.
Fraery, 65, 66.
Frigate, the Rose, 53, 54, 55, 194, 195.

G.

Gallop, 54.
Gaol, Boston, 187.
Gibson, 8.
Gill, 318.
Gillam, 37.
Glanvill, 132.
Godwin, 38.

Goodell.

Alphabetical Index.

Goodell, xxix, 173.
 Goodwin, 318.
 Gorges, 138, 141, 277.
 Gouge, xxxii, 239, 263.
 Graftort, 239.
 Graham, 176, 177, 186, 188.
 Greaves, 43, 61, 62, 81, 82, 85, 107, 108,
 109, 110, 239.
 Green, 8, 18, 317.
 Greenwood, 39, 45, 133, 212.
 Griffin, 55.
 Griffith, 298, 306.
 Guernsey, 5.
 Guildhall, 265.

H.

Hals, 8.
 Hammond, 107, 110, 239, 261, 262.
 Hampton-Court, 275.
 Harris, 133, 189, 302.
 Hartford, 485.
 Harvard College, xxxii, 24, 25, 150, 162,
 164, 295, 302.
 Hawkins, 54, 55, 61, 81, 82.
 Heath, 55.
 Hiacooms, (Indian,) 168.
 Hindmarth, 203, 221.
 Holland, 133, 139, 210, 248, 252, 262,
 277, 280.
 Holman, 8.
 Holt, xxiv, 277.
 Hooper, 61, 81, 82.
 Hope Hood, (Indian,) 51.
 Howard, 45, 134.
 Howe, 298, 306.
 Hubbard, xxxii.
 Humphreys, 177.
 Hutchinon, xxxii, 130, 183.

I.

Indian Churches, 166, 167.
 Indian War, 193, 207, 208, 214, 218.
 Ive, 133.

J.

Jackon, 61, 81, 82.
 Jamaica, 114.
 James, 298.

James II, King, petition to, 79; receives
 Mather, xi-xiii, 274; expelled from
 England, xvi.
 Janeway, 1, 2, 14.
 Jeffries, 239.
 Jephon, xvii, xviii, 274.
 Jerfeys, 237.
 Jesuits, 218.
 John James, (Indian,) 51, 52.
 Johnson, 54, 55, 130.
 Jones, 43, 77, 85.
 Joseph, (Indian,) 52.
 Joyliffe, 197.

K.

Kenebeque, 208.
 Kenington, 275.
 Kick, xvi, xviii, 150, 162, 165.
 King's Chapel in Boston, how built, 45;
 attacked by the mob, 63.
 Knight, 55.

L.

Lander, 55.
 Laws of New-England contrary to
 English laws, 122.
 Lawton, 133.
 Leffier, 220.
 Lenox, xxix.
 Leusden, 165, 166.
 Leverett, 142.
 Lidgett, 65, 130, 197, 262.
 Lilly, 65, 66.
 Littlefield, 239.
 Lloyd, 239.
 London, Bishop of, xvii, 3, 11, 13, 38.
 Londonderry, 161.
 Long Island, 153.

M.

Maccarty, 45.
 Maine, xxvii, xxxiii, 141, 181, 207, 213,
 219, 237, 283, 287.
 Manning, 239.
 Maquas, 52, 103, 217, 218.
 Marhippaug, 167.
 Martha's Vineyard, 167.
 Mary, Queen, favors Mather, 278, 282;
 letter to, 163.

Mather,

Alphabetical Index.

Mather, Cotton, xxx, 197, 211, 212, 315, 316, 317, 318, 324.

Mather, Increase, fails for England, xi, 273; is well received by James II, xii, 274; acts with Athurst, xiv; waits on William III, xvii, 7, 17, 274; stops the letters retaining Andros in his government, xviii; issues several pamphlets, xx, xxiv, 277; tries for a Writ of Error, xxiii; is in favor of a new Charter, xxiv, and obtains favorable terms, xxvi-xxviii; returns with Phips, xxviii; authorship of several pamphlets shown, 2, 20, 113.

Seeks a new Charter, 10; writes to Bradstreet, 15, and to Cotton Mather, 17; controverly about Common Prayer, 47; reply to Randolph, 127-134; his Relation of the State of New-England, 149-170; letter to John Leusden, 165-170; letter from Abraham Kick, 163-165; appears before the Council, 175; reasons for confirming the Charters, 225; interview with Queen Mary, 278; fees the Attorney General, 281; has Nova Scotia and Maine included, 283; form of oaths, 284; defends the new Charter, 287-296, 303-323; expends his own money, 293, 323; controverly with Calef, 299, 315, 321.

Mather, Nathaniel, xvi.

Mayo, 298, 306.

Mead, 298, 305, 306, 318.

Miller, 132.

Mines in New England, 120, 144, 288.

Mitchell, 61, 81, 82.

Monhatas, 117.

Monmouth, Earl of, 16, 173, 276.

Moody, 46, 65, 197.

Morton, 27.

Mountfort, 239.

Murrith, 133.

Myles, 25, 32, 39, 72.

N.

Nantucket, 167.

Natick, 166.

Navigation, Acts of, 57, 127, 138, 139.

Nelson, 133, 239.

Newfoundland, 132, 210.

New Hampshire, xxvii, 213, 219, 237, 283, 287.

New London, 84, 132.

Newton, 239.

New York, 42, 117, 181, 217, 218, 220, 237, 238, 284, 288.

Nicholas, 142.

Nicholson, 132, 133.

Nonconformists, Address of, 12-14.

North, 228.

North Church, 299, 316, 317.

Northfield, 207.

Nottingham, Lord, 320.

Nova Scotia, xxvii, 217, 283.

O.

Oakes, xxii, xxiii, 130, 134, 175, 178, 230.

Oath, Freeman's, 117.

Ogilby's America, extract from, concerning the seizure of Maine, 141.

Oliver, 196.

Orange, Prince of, (see William III).

P.

Paige, 183, 239.

Pain, 206.

Palfrey, 190, 204.

Palmer, xxiv, 20, 43, 75, 77, 107, 176, 177, 183, 188, 190, 204.

Palmes, 239.

Papists, none in New England, 97, 122.

Passive Obedience, 246, 267.

Patten, 8.

Pease, 55.

Pemaquid, xxxii, 103, 154, 181, 213, 214, 219, 237.

Pennicook, 52.

Pennsylvania, 132.

Penobscot, 117.

Pequods, 153.

Perkins, 167.

Peters, 206.

Philadelphia, 85.

Phillips, 239.

Phips,

Alphabetical Index.

Phips, xxvii, xxviii, xxxii, 264, 265, 294,
315, 317.
Pierce, 1, 14.
Pike, 142.
Pirates, 54, 55, 118, 256.
Piscataqua River, 220.
Plymouth, xxvii, 151, 156, 167, 227, 230,
237, 284, 287.
Pollery, 287.
Pollexfen, xxiv.
Port Royal, 117, 214, 217.
Pounds, 54, 55.

Q.

Quakers, 42, 58, 62.
Quebec, 237.
Quick, 298, 321, 322.

R.

Rand, 239.
Randolph, xxx, xxxii, 18, 27, 49, 57,
127, 128, 129, 133, 173, 176, 177, 184,
185, 188, 194, 198, 262.
Rafin, 239.
Ratcliffe, 32, 65, 212.
Ravencroft, 32.
Rhode Island, xxxii, 154, 155, 227, 230,
737.
Richardson, 61, 81, 82.
Riggs, 197, 198.
Robie, 318.
Robinson, 61, 81, 82, 318.
Roxbury, 166.
Ruffell, 43, 85, 108, 109, 110.

S.

Saco, 207, 208.
Saconet, 167.
Salem, 287.
Sawyer, 174.
Scheneectady, 220, 237.
School, free, in Boston, 64.
Searle, 183.
Secession, peaceable, 152.
Second Church, Boston, 318.
Sewall, xxxii, 46.
Shaftesbury, xvi, 162.
Shannon, 239.

Sherlock, 176, 177, 187, 188.
Shippen, 239.
Shrimpton, 132, 133, 183.
Shute, 131.
Sicklerdam, 55.
Sidney, Lord, 280, 319, 320.
Smuggling and illegal trade in New
England denied, 57; charged by
their adversaries, 139, and refuted,
113-123; answer of the Massachu-
setts Agents to Randolph's charges,
127-134.
Soames, 239.
Solomon, Thomas, (Indian,) 51.
Somers, xxiii, xxiv, 173, 174, 272.
Southack, 131.
South meeting-house, 44, 45.
Spectacle-pond, 207.
Sprague, 61, 62, 81, 82, 110, 239.
Springfield, 207.
Stanbury, 133.
Standing forces, 49.
St. Johns, 117.
Stevens, 204.
Stone, 8.
Storey, 55.
Stoughton, 130, 294.
Stretton, 298.
Sudbury, 51.
Sunderland, Earl of, xxxi, 10.
Sutherland, Lady, 272.
Sylvester, 37.

T.

Taxes excessive, 30, 59, 60, 210.
Tax on shipping, 116.
Thaxter, 130.
Tillotson, xxv, 73, 319.
Ting, 142.
Tippet, 239.
Tockinosh, (Indian,) 168.
Topsfield, xxxii.
Town-meetings forbidden, 5.
Towne, 8.
Townsend, 46.
Training-days, 159.
Treat, 85, 167.
Treby, xxiv, xxvi.
Trinity College, Dublin, xvi.

Trumbull,

Alphabetical Index.

Trumbull, 84.
Turell, 132, 133.
Tyng, 142.

U.

Usher, 130, 133.

V.

Vanderbofsk, 37.
Virginia, 38, 132, 179, 288.

W.

Wadsworth, 318.
Walden, 142.
Walker, 239.
Warre, 320.
Warren, 55.
Waterhouse, 216, 239.
Waterman, (Indian,) 52.
Watertown, 62, 82.
Watts, 55.
Weld, 61, 81, 82.
Welsteed, 132.
West, 176, 177, 185, 188.
Westminster, 77, 115, 155, 164, 167, 287.
Wethersfield, 84.
Weybourn, 140.
Wharton, Lord, xvii, 12, 148, 272, 274.
White, 45.
Whitehall, 159, 173, 275.

Whiting, 230.
Whitmore, 8, 61, 81, 84.
Wieth, 8.

Wilkins, 18.

Willard, 197.

William of Orange proclaimed King, xvi ; receives Dissenting ministers, xvii ; settles the government of New England temporarily and recalls Andros, xix ; battles in Ireland, xxii ; orders a new Charter to be prepared, xxvi, xxvii, 280 ; fails for Holland, 280 ; receives Mather, xvii, 7, 17 ; confirms the government, 226 ; proclaimed King in New England, 227.

Willow, 8.

Wiltshire, Lord, 12.

Winship, 8.

Winslow, 68, 209.

Winthrop, 181, 212.

Wifwall, 230.

Wolley, 130.

Woodcock, 298, 306.

Writ of Quo Warranto, 4, 34, 129, 154, 287.

Writ of Scire Facias, 4, 155, 228, 287.

Y.

York, 141, 142.



